

ANALYSIS OF NATIVE MUTUAL
HELP HOUSING DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM

Prepared for: The Alaska State Housing Authority

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I. Introduction

This ~~summary~~ summary of experience in Federally-supported Mutual Help housing for the Native population of Alaska is intended to fulfill a requirement of the Demonstration Grant to the Alaska State Housing Authority. Its purpose is to help guide formulation of future policy in Federal and State assistance to low-income populations for improvement of housing. Submission of this report to ASHA will conclude a contract between ASHA and the University of Alaska for research on some psychological and social factors involved in the success or failure of the Federally financed program for mutual-help housing in the various regions of Alaska. Observations summarized herein are based on eight months of residence in Grayling by an observer, and a series of short visits to other localities.

The social structure of Grayling and Metlakatla are contrasted, since experience is available on the mutual help operation in these two localities. The evaluation of the Coastal Eskimo experimental dwelling is beyond the province of this report, but social problems of conflict between traditional and dominant cultures in that location seem to the investigators to be so similar to that of the Yukon River Indian situation that the recommendations presented herein for Grayling can guide policy elsewhere.

The conclusions arrived at are simple and straightforward. Where Western values regarding time and money have been accepted and internalized by the people concerned (as in Metlakatla), the Mutual Help concept is satisfactory. On the other hand, in Grayling, where the transition from pre-technology to a capitalist economy is still in progress, Mutual Help does not work well. The investigators recommend that greater external controls,

in the form of individual and village-government contracts, be a part of future housing policies.

The Grayling project, the first governmental housing effort of any kind for Alaska Natives since the Remote Dwelling (loan) Program was discontinued in 1952, was expensive in terms of time, effort, money, and anxiety, but it was not a failure. Not only is the physical standard of living improved for these people, far beyond what they would have had without the Federal and State interference, but policy makers have had an opportunity to learn how to design, offer, build, sell and maintain similarly superior homes for the 40,000 or so other people who still need them. Distributing the cost and the anguish needed for the first 15 houses over the thousand or so houses yet to come will average to only a modest investment, particularly when the purposes of such housing programs are two-fold: to advance the self-respect and sociological integrity as well as the physical well-being of the beneficiaries.

II. Background Information on Grayling

While Metlakatla has a history of strong government, possessing real political authority exercised in a democratic but firm manner, Grayling's local government is experimental, informal, and lacks real legal authority. One notices the printed town stationary of Metlakatla, the hand-lettered posters in Grayling. We do not here trace the full history of prior successes, failures, white contacts, and physical resources in looking for causes of the contemporary differences. However, a quick review of the contrasts in cultures will lay the foundations for the conclusions to be drawn.

The Town of Grayling

The town itself is located on the Yukon River approximately three hundred miles by river from the coast and one hundred ten miles east of Bethel. It nestles among low mountains at the confluence of Grayling Creek and the Yukon. This part of Alaska is a mixture of timber land and tundra and experiences approximately four months of warm weather and eight of cold, during which much snow falls and the temperature drops to forty and fifty degrees below zero.

The People

The native inhabitants of Grayling are an isolated group of Athabascan Indians; one hundred twenty-seven individuals in all, comprising around two dozen family units. These people are only distantly related to the inhabitants of the two nearest villages, Anvik and Shageluk, which are twenty and ninety miles distant, respectively, by water. As a matter of fact, according to the

local Episcopal missionary, there are considerable differences^{er} even in the indigenous languages of these three Athabascan towns.

Though missionaries were settling on the Yukon as early as the late nineteenth century, the first large scale contact in this area with English speaking whites came around the turn of the twentieth century when the gold rush brought steamships up the Yukon at a rate of one or more per day. The old-timers of this area learned their English while working on these ships. Their sons and daughters, though, use English as their principal language, having been taught it in school and by their parents. The third generation, today's children and adolescents, speak little or no Athabascan, though traditional songs may be part of an occasional ritual meeting or dance in which they participate.

Old beliefs and ways persist to some degree but are dying rapidly. For instance, among the older people there is still the belief that the dead are dangerous. The Episcopal priest in Anvik blesses houses where deaths have occurred. This, in effect, makes that house habitable again. In more progressive Grayling the priest refuses to perform such ceremonies. Yet when the move from Holikachuk to Grayling in 1962 was proposed, some of the older folks opposed it because Grayling, having been the site of a pre-existing town which had been wiped out by a plague, abounded in unmarked graves.

The way the people of Grayling deal with the death of an individual is revealing. When a person dies, the family holds "open house" for several days. The cadaver is on display. During this time, friends and neighbors visit, each bringing gifts of food. Most of this food is consumed by those in attendance as they sit quietly around the body. But, a portion

of each offering is saved and buried with the deceased. The actual burial occurs within a few days and is accompanied by a short Christian graveside service. A month or so after the individual is buried, a tiny house is constructed over his grave and in it are placed personal items such as his gun, tobacco, pipe, injector razor set, Bible, etc.

Willow-root basket weaving, the only form of handicraft for which the natives in the Grayling area are known, is still done but is disappearing. The older women still weave occasionally, but their daughters never learned, and the art will die within a few years with the elderly artisans.

Town Government and Economics

The people of Grayling are governed by a Town Council, organized under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1939, composed of a president (or chief), vice-president, secretary-treasurer, and two councilmen. General elections are held every January and are done through a process of nomination and casting ballots. Since no one holds office for more than a year or two, many people have a crack at elective office. This custom has its drawbacks, though, for sometimes the important offices are not always held by the real leaders of the community. One year, for instance, a capable though not influential person was elected president. He soon resigned because instead of following his suggestions, the people continued to obey the will of the traditional leaders. Other citizens have been reported to remain bitter for years after losing an election.

The people of Grayling face the same economic problem as the peoples of many other Alaskan native communities: limited seasonal employment opportunities, and a diminishing market for local products. As a result, the average income per participant family--a man, wife, and three children-- is around \$1,660 per year with 86 per cent of the town earning less than \$2,500

annually. Unearned income, such as welfare and social security benefits, accounts for roughly 44 per cent of the participants' total income. Of the 56 per cent of the people's income which is earned, approximately 37 per cent is derived from hunting and fishing, 31 per cent from employment in fish canneries and on the Alaskan Railroad, and 32 per cent from miscellaneous forms of short-term employment.

Fishing and trapping can be considered together, because an individual must catch, dry, and smoke fish in the summer in order to have food to keep his sled dogs alive for trapping in the winter. Most families work from June to mid-August in their fish camps, trapping, netting, drying and smoking salmon. Late August and the months of September and October are spent getting the winter supply of moose meat and fuel wood and preparing traps and dog sleds. Then, from November to June, the men are at various times engaged in trapping mink, marten, land otter, beaver and muskrat.

For those men engaged in fishing and trapping, there is much unoccupied time. Though the men go to fish camp out of habit, the women there are observed to do the greater part of the work. Further, judging from the amount each man earns in trapping, we can assume that there is considerable variation in the effort put into winter trapping.

Outside employment is on a come-what-may basis. Only during the salmon season of June, July and August are any significant number of men employed, and then only about one-third of the men of the town are involved.

Origin and Early History of Grayling

Previously, the people of Grayling lived in the more than ordinarily isolated village of Holikachuk, located on a sporadically navigible tributary of the Yukon. Holikachuk was settled by Yukon River people who moved away from direct contact, according to tradition, about the time of the first

World War. Family names indicate that some were conservative Russian Orthodox, native from Russian Mission and nearby points. The Episcopal Church sent a missionary in the 1930's, but the Bureau of Indian Affairs did not start a school until 1940.

The factors which in 1963 caused the people of Holikachuk to move lock, stock and barrel from that townsite to Grayling Creek, forty miles away, were long-standing. In the first place, there was a desire to be closer to the summer fish camps on the Yukon River. Second, the people wanted to eliminate the extra cost in freighting merchandise from the Yukon River to Holikachuk. Third, there was a need for firewood which is not readily available in Holikachuk. Fourth, the area seemed to be flooding worse lately.

Yet, the fifth and most likely fundamental cause for the move was a running feud between the people and a contankerous old half-breed trader by the name of Frank Walker who came to Holikachuk in 1948.

"This village," writes the Council in a letter to Governor Egan in 1962, "does not, never has done and will not recognize Mr. Walker nor his family as members of the organized village of Holikachuk." Yet, the fact of the matter was that by 1962 this person managed to collect all the reins of power of the town in his own hands. Not only was he the owner of the local store and thus controller of credit, but also, through alleged influence in the State government, he had secured himself the positions of postmaster, marriage commissioner, chairman of elections, and operator of the local State radio.

Apparently, Mr. Walker was thought to have abused these positions to such an extent that the people's dislike of him climaxed in 1962 in a decision to move away from him. In that summer, therefore, the Council sent

a letter to the Juneau area office of the BIA stating the desire to move and asking for various forms of help, including "financial assistance,"

In August, the BIA responded to this letter by sending Neal Jensen, head of Native Housing, to Holikachuk. That Agency was actively interested in ascertaining whether or not there was going to be a move, for they had plans for the construction of a new school at Holikachuk. These plans would, of course, have to be changed if the people were to move to the Yukon. During his stay in Holikachuk, Mr. Jensen attended a meeting of the village and was informed that the people definitely intended to leave Holikachuk regardless of whether or not they received any outside assistance. Before leaving, Mr. Jensen promised the people that he would try to secure for them the financial assistance of some as yet undetermined governmental agency.

In the ensuing months, three of the leaders of the town, Walter Maillelle, Wilbert Nicholas, and Henry Deacon visited three proposed townsites on the Yukon and selected the present site. Then, having filed for three 160-acre native allotments, the individuals, using only a pocket compass and a hundred-foot piece of rope proceeded to stake out street and lot lines. A plat was drawn on a piece of brown wrapping paper and individual lots were assigned to all citizens of Holikachuk except one, Frank Walker. After this, streets and some lots were cleared of timber and the construction of a warehouse was started. A copy of this plat, as officially adopted, is a part of this report.

Meanwhile, Mr. Jensen had contacted Mr. Tolbert Elliott of the ASHA, who suggested to Mr. Jensen that the Housing and Home Finance Agency might be interested in financing a mutual-help housing project in Grayling, administered by ASHA.

In February of 1963, both Mr. Elliott and Mr. Jensen made a visit to Holikachuk. At this time they told the people of the availability of the HHFA funds, explained the participants' responsibility and asked the people if they were interested. They were, indeed. So a formal resolution requesting ASHA to make application for these funds was drawn up by the Council, and passed. Accordingly, in March of that year ASHA applied to the HHFA for the demonstration grant in question, as people began to build their new homes.

In May, 1963, the grant was approved by HHFA and in August the contract was executed with ASHA. According to the contract, the residents of Grayling were to contribute land, labor, lumber, and make monthly payments on the HHFA loan when the project was completed. The Alaska State Housing Authority was to administer the project and use HHFA funds to supply finishing materials such as interior plywood, insulation, roofing, paint, windows, doors, cabinets, etc.

Because of early BIA involvement, construction of the new school was scheduled at Grayling to coincide with the move. It was completed for use in the Fall of 1964; children were boarded in other villages to attend school in 1963-64. However, the new State airstrip was built in Holikachuk; Grayling is still served only by float planes, a boat in summer, skii planes and dog team in winter, and by radio in between.

Since certain families already had housing available on the new site, or were committed to building homes to their own tastes, only 15 houses were planned in the Mutual-help project. The budgeted cost was \$2500 per house, exclusive of local lumber and of the actual labor on the house. The total dollar sum from which the budget was computed includes materials, equipment and the salary of a resident construction supervisor. The balance of the cost of the house is covered by the volunteered labor of the participant, and is described as his "sweat equity." Widows were invited to

make a \$100.00 cash payment to the village in lieu of donated labor,

Two families participated in a special arrangement by which their existing houses were to be improved and expanded with Project materials in exchange for the same committment of labor and subsequent monthly payments as were made by regular participants.

An elaborate questionnaire was the basis for the participation agreement, but citizens later told the University investigators that this questionnaire was not likely to reflect true attitudes because of its formidable formality. Accordingly, we do not know how definitely the participants felt committed to the style and size of the house they were to have, or to the \$10.00 per month payment which ASHA assumed they were likely to have to pay upon completion.

The standard house, plans for which are part of this, can vary in number of bedrooms according to size of family at time of construction and can be added to when required. The design was produced by a professional architect with extensive experience in Alaskan sub-Arctic construction. For economy of labor and materials, the outside walls were to be of plank sawed from local logs--this reduced the lumber of logs required by two-thirds, but violates the tradition of using round logs.

III. The Operation in Grayling

Progress of the Project in 1963

During the spring of 1963 the people apparently put enthusiastic effort into the housing project. By the end of April, they had cut 1650 logs which, after break-up of the river ice, were floated to the new village site. In mid-May, the people began moving to Grayling. In June, a private sawmill, owned by Henry Deacon, was barged to Grayling to be rented by the project, and the men started sawing lumber.

But as the summer grew older, enthusiasm and effort began to wane. In part, this was due to the fact that 25 of the men were employed that summer in constructing the new school. As ASHA employee Harry Gropp noted upon his arrival in August, only the "older, willing, but less capable or experienced Natives" were available to work on the housing project. Yet, the principle cause for the petering out of the enthusiasm was the fact that, even as late as August, 1963, none of the materials or tools which the Alaska State Housing Authority had promised to send had arrived. Apparently, the people were beginning to think that ASHA promises were just another example of white man's lies.

Yet, in September the first barge load of materials, finally did arrive and, says Mr. Gropp, "When they saw the goods they were quite enthusiastic." Even the men who were working weekdays on the school began to put in time at the mill on Sunday. And, at that time Gropp, who had previously been rather pessimistic about the project, wrote, "They seem to be committed to the idea of building the project houses."

ASHA construction supervision Lynn Gilbert arrived in September. In the remaining months of 1963, seven houses were framed and put "in the dry" (e.i., roofed, but not finished inside), and perhaps a dozen temporary caches

were erected. Most of the people passed the first winter in these unfinished houses and caches while a few braved the elements in canvas tents.

Progress of the Project in 1964

In the spring of 1964, as in the previous one, work began with the cutting and rafting of logs. This time approximately 1300 logs were cut. In June, a new ASHA construction supervisor, Mr. Richard Bowlby, arrived. By December, when he had left, a total of eleven houses had been framed, roofed and finished, ready for painting.

In part, this success was undoubtedly due to the incentive caused by the need which many participants had of getting a roof over their heads. One of the principal additional reasons for the success of the project during 1964 seemed to be the fact that Mr. Bowlby chose to vigorously exercise his authority as construction supervisor and therefore played a strong role in the organization and planning of the project. He met frequently with the participants, both in weekly Mens' Club "get-togethers" at the Episcopal Mission House and in the formal monthly Council meetings. He retained control of the meting out of ASHA building materials, and he organized work teams under foremen he appointed to do such operations as prefabricating and framing.

Yet it was precisely this control and leadership exercised without a clear delineation of role by the white supervisor which seemed to lead to resentment on the part of some participants. At one meeting late in the year a community leader with an especially deep distrust of and hate for whites demanded that the Council be given the authority to hire and fire ASHA construction supervisors. Others felt that more might have been accomplished if the Council had been given control over planning and the distribution of materials.

Partly out of deference to this latter feeling, and partly out of curiosity to find out how full Council control would work, ASHA decided that

in 1965 the distribution of materials and scheduling of work would be turned over to the Council.

The following incidents are offered to illustrate the nature of the problems encountered in the structuring of the work situation in the July-December, 1964, work season. They are examples of several recorded incidents leading to the inferences given here.

3 August, 4:00P.M. Crew was pulling logs out of stream. When mail boat was seen coming up from Anvik, crew broke up to wait for mail. Postmaster must leave work to sort mail; when he goes, everybody goes, ending work for the day. INFERENCE: Shift time not set by an absolute standard or by an internalized standard.

15 August, Crew working at sawmill. Village's most skilled sawyer is operating the saw blade. When saw owner is at throttle of gasoline engine which drives blade (and which must be varied as log enters and leaves) sawyer waits for engine sound changes to initiate next step; when someone lower in the hierarchy is at throttle, he yells, "Come on there!" and thus controls pace of the entire operation. INFERENCE: non-task hierarchy penetrates work situation. In villagers' dealings with each other, this phenomenon corresponds to what is widely observed within urban caucasian society. It is compounded in relationships between villagers and caucasians because the latter control power but can be victimized by (unfounded) charges of discrimination and exploitation. In this particular episode, the engine owner is not dependent upon the program and is less motivated to speed work (and wear out his saw) than is the sawyer.

20 July. Work at saw-mill stopped when saw drive belt broke before agreed-upon quitting time. No attempt to do other tasks. INFERENCE: Scheduling of time and task is required.

22 June. Supervisor, knowing skilled chainsaw operator was present, did not call on him to start cutting. Instead, he asked, "Who is a good chainsaw man?" Result was that the man picked up saw and began. INFERENCE: Direct ordering tended to be much less effective than use of implication and suggestion in the informal and non-paid situation which exists here.

24 June. Representative of ASHA from Anchorage organizes town meeting in evening at warehouse used by ASHA personnel as dormitory. He obtains the calendar for departure to fish-camp, 20 miles upstream, and sets up schedule for each family to report for a shift of construction work. After three days, two days after his departure, the schedule is abandoned and there is almost no progress until fish stop running in the river. INFERENCE: persistence of exercise of limited, task-defined authority is needed, unless there is a ritual of transferring of authority to a representative. The resident supervisor did not set up work schedules successfully until August.

In contrast to the above reports illustrating the irregularity of work hours, other reports were offered by the supervisor on his prior experiences on non-volunteer construction projects. These stand as hearsay, since they were not observed by the investigators, but they offer a picture leading to the conclusions and recommendations herein. When men are hired at an hourly rate and at an established schedule of hours, they quickly adopt the same Western values of their supervisors. They show up on time, they do as they are told (in the line of duty) and they demonstrate whatever pride of craftsmanship will correspond to that of their supervisors and peers. They master the intricacies of payroll computation and of benefits for sickness, lay-offs and on-the-job injuries.

During construction of the school the previous year, one man, for example, reported that he was unable to work any more, but had a cousin who

would take his place. The date of his termination was that upon which he would be qualified for unemployment benefits under State law. INFERENCE: When death with in adult terms, there is no problem about adapting to and making use of modern industrial organizational techniques.

In the Grayling project, though, when the relationship with the State is poorly defined and includes the undefined and unbusinesslike arrangement of "volunteering," without a clear understanding of what this entails, there were few examples of creative or constructive problem-solving. Tools were misused, mislaid and misappropriated. Episodes of abandonment or non-return of tools were commonplace. But when accusations were made of unauthorized and/or destructive use of tools or equipment, they were in terms of a loss to the accuser as a member of the project, rather than as a loss to an unidentified third party or employer. Likewise, borrowing was frequently rationalized by a borrower on the grounds that as a participant he was entitled to use his "own" tools. INFERENCE: With employees hired by the hour a clearer distinction would operate between employers' and employees' rights.

[additional inference: responsibilities of the individual participant vis-a-vis tools and materials were not clearly defined at the beginning of the project. It is recommended that in the future projects, a basic tool kit be provided each worker, for which he is responsible and which he may keep at the close of the project, paying for it in terms of a given number of hours of labor. More expensive tools and equipment (chain saws, etc.) should probably also be disposed of in the community at the close of the project by bid.]

Progress of the Project in 1965

In April of 1965 the Village Council was notified of its expanded authority by the construction supervisor, Mr. Bowlby. They were informed, in effect, that while Mr. Bowlby would be available for technical advice, the Council itself would be responsible for materials and work scheduling.

Mr. Bowlby arrived in Grayling in mid-June. By that time, the cutting of the 500 logs needed to complete the project had been accomplished. During that summer and fall, the people worked finishing out the houses that were standing and constructing the two final ones from the beginning. By the time of this writing of the report, the houses have been finished and the project has been dedicated.

Yet, as will be argued below, the experiment in full Council authority was at best a limited success. In reality, the Council refused to use its authority in 1965. No community meetings were held and there was little central planning. Most of the finishing out of houses was done on a do-it-yourself basis by the individuals working on their own houses. Similarly, the Council was completely irresponsible in its handling of ASHA materials, and large quantities were stolen or abused.

Records of total hours worked and total costs incurred were maintained by ASHA and are not part of this report. There is little doubt, however, that the labor costs exceed those to be expected from hourly-paid wage labor.

The experiment might have proved more successful had the Council clearly understood the responsibilities entailed by the grant of authority to them, and technical assistance and training been provided in the routines necessary.

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Problems Encountered in Grayling:

From the outset of the project there seems to have been a feeling on the part of many of the participants that ASHA equipment and materials are fair game to be made off with when the opportunity arises. This was so even before the Council was given authority over materials and equipment. Of the materials that arrived the first year, the warehouse reported in 1965 that it was missing the following equipment: 4 out of 8 saws, 22 out of 24 hammers, 1 out of 2 levels, 2 framing squares, 2 block planes, 12 tape rules, 1-15" plane, and various axes, "pee vees," cable clamps, cables, etc. Other tools, though not stolen, were misused. Light-plants (generators) were used to run washing machines and to light houses. The tractor rented by ASHA from the Episcopal Mission House was used secretly to haul dried fish. Chain saws were spirited off at night to do service in the cutting of cordwood and were run without lubrication. Materials were also misused. Seven boats were constructed using ASHA plywood. Two fishwheels were anchored with ASHA cable. Quantities of poly vapor barrier sheeting (visqueen) were used in making temporary shelters for boats and fish caches. Mr. Bowlby estimates that forty pounds of nails are needed to frame a project house. Yet, in 1965, even though only two houses were partially framed, the amazing total of 270 pounds of nails have disappeared. Similarly, gas has been stolen in large quantities -- 200 to 300 gallons. When a storm in the spring of 1965 pushed over piles of plywood at the loading dock, the loose sheets remained untouched (except for pilfering) for two weeks until the supervisor himself took the time to restore the stacks in a way which would prevent misshaping and damage to the wood,

Incomplete participation. The 1964 village president had announced before his election an indifference or unwillingness to serve. It is testimony to his accepted general competence that he was elected; he gave little effort to leadership or to "policing" of participation. It seems clear, in retrospect, that the true opinion leaders in the village were divided and were not committed to success of the project, and that, there was a lack of committed, organized political participation. This may be due to the fact that Grayling does not appear to be organized along aboriginal "tribal" lines. Little is known of the degree to which traditional kinship lineages and "traditional" leadership roles operate, or, indeed, whether they still persist except in antenuated form. Those individuals with the least self-reliance were those who most needed an organized framework in which to work and to benefit from the mutual-help idea; they were also those with the least skill in organizing the community effort. Those most skilled in community organization were those who were least motivated to participate in this community project. There is no point in reproducing here the individual work records showing the vast discrepancies in hours worked; no good can come now of condemning the alledged non-workers. It is clear, however, from the completion of all houses in 1965 that everyone would and could work when motivated. Assumption of an individualistic ethic at the end of 1965 brought about the successful completion.

Interviews consistnetly show that complaints made about hours worked by others are based on established family patterns of feuding, independly of actual work records.

Expressed hostility to outsiders. Every spontaneous comment recorded by an investigator was negative. When an interviewer asked for suggestions for improvement, there were none; when he asked how the respondent

liked the houses, or the project, he was answered with a favorable reply. This is consistent with the pattern of conforming to interviewer expectation that confounds every social science study. But when unsolicited comments were tabulated, they consistently expressed distrust, confusion, pessimism or outright hostility. Participants wanted larger houses (disregarding cost of heating and maintenance), no subsequent mortgage payments, free labor (by others) and faster service--all in contrast with the results of the earlier questionnaire work on which the project plans were based. For example, a resident has complained repeatedly that the government came in uninvited, despite the fact that BIA files contain a letter dated 2 May 1962 requesting Federal assistance in relocation and housing.

The workday and the work situation. In 1964, an average work-day found seven men working 4.5 hours each. An eight-hour day in the absence of cash compensation was impossible, because (1) the time was required for subsistence and (2) no other tangible reason for investment of this time was readily apparent. Language difficulties exacerbated an initial distrust of Caucasians, as did local politics which either should have been kept completely independent of the housing project or else should have been constructively exploited for its advancement. Experienced persons have repeatedly advised the use of indirect language in conveying directions and orders, and the wisdom of this advice is confirmed here; but this factor is much less important than that of the discrepancy between individualistic and communal ethics that characterizes the application of the mutual-help principle in this population

It is now necessary to compare the Grayling experience with that of Metlakatla.

III. Background Information on the Mutual-Help Housing

Project in Metlakatla

History of the town

On October 2, 1857, William Duncan came from England to British Columbia as a Church of England missionary. He settled among the Tsimshian Indians at Ft. Simpson and, after mastering their language, began to "teach the Gospel" to these "heathens." A hard-working and intelligent man, he created a written Tsimshian language and proceeded to translate the Bible into it.

Father Duncan was highly successful at converting the Tsimshians and after a while, when the converts numbered around 1,000, he convinced them to move away from their unredeemed brethren and form a new Christian settlement in another part of British Columbia. Their stay at what is now called "Old Metlakatla" was short lived, though, for Duncan soon incurred the anger of the Hudson's Bay Company by advising his flock not to buy boats from the latter which was charging exorbitant prices. The Company, pointing to the Government which, in turn, put pressure on the Church of England, As a result, Duncan's superiors summoned him to England, gave him a tongue-lashing, and notified him that they were going to send a Bishop to Metlakatla to restore order.

Duncan, though, had no intention of letting anyone steal his show. So, as soon as he returned to the New World, he went to Washington and pleaded for land in Alaska. The government of Grover Cleveland informed him that the tribe could acquire land by simply settling and obtaining squatter's rights. At that, Duncan sent the tribe word to send out an exploring party to select a new townsite in Alaska. The Island of Annette was selected and, in the fall of 1887, Duncan and 823 natives moved to this new

land and proceeded to build the town of New Metlakatla. On March 4, 1891, the U. S. Congress set aside Annette Island for the exclusive use of the Tsimshian.

Duncan was an autocrat who ruled with an iron hand. For a while authoritarian rule had beneficial effects. Duncan drew up a master plan and the town was laid out in neat blocks, four houses to a block. He also created an effective town-council form of government over whose decisions he retained the power of absolute veto. And finally, he set up the "Metlakatla Industries Company," which ran a communal salmon cannery, a general store, and a sawmill.

Yet, as the years went by, Duncan appeared to become ever more despotic and the townsfolk began to tire of his dominance. Seeing education, apparently, as a threat to his power, he tried to prevent boys of the tribe from receiving more than two years of schooling and from learning English. Further, he refused to let Indian stockholders take part in decisions of the Metlakatla Industries Company, and, finally, in 1914 he tried to nullify the results of a Town-Council election.

At this point, the Tsimshian stood up to Duncan and informed him that he had no authority to interfere in town elections. Then, the Council corresponded with the United States Secretary of the Interior and the latter issued "Rules and Regulations of the Annette Island Reserve" which gave the Indians the right to govern themselves and effectively deposed Duncan in both the political and the economic realms. Three years later, in 1918, Duncan, an embittered old man, died at the age of 85.

In the 47 years which have elapsed since Duncan's death, there have, of course, been changes in Metlakatla. Yet, the essential physical, social, political and economic structure of this town remains as it was created by Father William Duncan in the 1880's.

Town Government and Economy.

As mentioned above, Metlakatla has a well-organized town-council system of government. There is a Mayor, a Secretary, and a Treasurer-- elected every two years--and there are 12 Councilmen, six elected for two year terms every year. Under the Council, there are 13 Committees which deal with all phases of town life, from the operation of the Cannery, to schools, to health and welfare.

There is no town tax; public works are supported by the income from town enterprises such as the Cannery and the Hydroelectric plant.

The mainstay of the Town's economy is salmon. By a March 5, 1962 decision, the Metlakatlans are the only people in Alaska permitted to operate fish traps. Every year, over 100 local fishermen in around 30 boats catch between one and 1-1/2 million fish in the five traps and the various seines which the Town operates. (Fishing season runs from July to mid-September.) These fish, in turn, are processed by between 125 and 150 local workers at the cannery into upwards of 90,000 cases worth over two million dollars.

Metlakatla benefits from the salmon industry not only directly in the form of wages earned in fishing and canning but also through employment in the town government and on public works projects financed by cannery profits. Twenty people are employed by the Town on a year-round basis and many others are given WPA-like employment in the form of jobs on town beautification projects, etc.

There are, of course, a few other sources of income. The town's school system employs 22 teachers, some of them Native. More than twenty work year around at the airport or with the various governmental agencies on that end of the Island such as the FAA, the Coast Guard, and the Weather Bureau. And, this year, over twenty members of the tribe are employed by the

BIA in the construction of a road between Metlakatla and the Annette Airport. But, all in all, Metlakatla's economy is definitely salmon-based, and if the salmon industry were ever to fail, the town's economy would fall into ruin.

There does not seem to be any immediate danger of a collapse of the salmon industry in Metlakatla, though some recent catches have been poor. The town government has recently been pursuing diversification. In 1956, for instance, the town borrowed 1.6 million dollars from REA, using the cannery as collateral, and built a hydroelectric plant which presently serves not only Metlakatla but also the government and private enterprises on the other end of the Island. This plant has been such an economic success that the town could presently pay off its debt if permitted by regulation.

Similarly, the town explored the possibility of securing a contract with Export Pacific, Inc., of Tacoma, Washington, to set up and run a veneer plant at the site of the now defunct saw mill. If this contract is realized, scores of local people will be employed both at the plant and in the logging operations. This would be winter employment, a perfect complement to summer fishing and canning. There are, however, skeptics who maintain that the region possesses neither the raw material nor the market necessary for the support of a large scale operation like a veneer plant. This is a debatable point.

In summation, then, the economy of Metlakatla, though based largely on a single industry, is fairly sound and there are good prospects for improvement. Although technically socialist because of public ownership, the business operations have a contemporary American capitalist outlook.

Early History of the Mutual Help Housing Project

According to recent figures, there are approximately 950 inhabitants (1964 census) and 191 families (1961) in the Town of Metlakatla. This population is 91.5% Indian. At present, approximately 12% of the families receive welfare and in 1961 this was broken down into 12 OAA recipients and 15 ADC cases. In 1963 ASHA conducted a survey which showed that there were approximately 31 non-elderly renter families living in sub-standard dwellings and having an income of, or below \$5,000 per year. There are also a number of individuals living in privately owned sub-standard homes and whose income is low enough to justify their participation in Mutual-Help Housing (\$5,000 is approximately the maximum set for participation in this program, but this figure varies with the size of family). Thus, between renters and home owners there were a good number of families in Metlakatla which qualified for participation in Mutual-Help housing.

Several years ago, the Town of Metlakatla, which was then experiencing a problem in finding housing for the 22 people teaching in the local schools, applied to PHA for a low-rent housing project to take care of this problem. PHA did a survey of the town and replied to Mayor Ryan in December of 1962 that it was the opinion of that agency that conventional low income housing in Metlakatla would be too expensive for the people who would qualify for it. At that time the Regional Director of PHA suggested that Metlakatla participate in a PHA-BIA Mutual-Help Housing Program. Within six months, a lawyer representing the Town of Metlakatla had completed the paperwork necessary for establishing a Metlakatla Housing Authority to act as a bonding agency in the mutual-help project.

After some months, the Metlakatla Mutual-Help Housing project was given official approval and applicants applied to and were accepted for the

project. It was decided that 15 houses would be built and, in a meeting with the representative of the BIA, the participants selected by majority vote one of the six available house styles. The main section of this house measures approximately 49 x 21 feet and will include a living room, a dining room, a hall, a kitchen, a utility room, a bath, and three bedrooms. Off of this section are built two porches, and the external appearance conforms to existing house patterns. Then the participants worked clearing their land while materials were purchased in Seattle and arrangements were made to transport the material to Metlakatla.

The actual work on the houses began in February of 1965. At that time, logs for the foundation were cut and set at each one of the sites. Work then stopped until March when the materials from Seattle arrived. The arrival of the materials occasioned much enthusiasm and the participants and interested friends worked industriously until July when the cannery work began. In this short period, they succeeded in completing the siding, roofs, shingling, painting, and the insulating of all 15 houses. The participants expect that they will be able to finish their houses by November or December, if they start work again in September.

The Metlakatla Housing Authority, under the chairmanship of John Smith, will, after the houses are completed, have the responsibility of supervising the proper maintenance of, and collection of payments for the 15 houses. All changes in structure must be approved by that Authority and maintenance must meet their standards. Further, the MHA will be responsible for collecting each participant's monthly payments. The size and duration of these payments will vary with the participant's income and family size, and will range between \$10.00 and \$55.00 per month.

The actual supervision of the work has been done by an imported PHA construction superintendent and by a resident of the community hired as his foreman and paid by the Metlakatla Housing Authority.

What is particularly interesting to note, though, is the fact that the participants have, on their own initiative, formed a Participant's Committee which meets formally once or twice a month and informally whenever a problem arises. This Committee, comprised of all the participants and under the presidency of Harold Hudson, solves day to day problems and imposes discipline on the members. For instance, at the beginning of the project, several participants went on what was considered a "fling" in Ketchikan and, as a result, missed three days of work. The Committee promptly warned and punished the offenders and, from that time on, the latter were faithful in fulfilling their commitments. Similarly, when one of the participants was having his share of the work done by a son who was too young to do a good job, the members called a meeting and solved this problem. Apparently, these people respect the will of the majority for, while there are often heated arguments in meetings, there have reportedly been no problems in implementing group decisions.

V. The Operation in Metlakatla

In all, each house will cost \$9,647. PHA supplied the building materials, except for the piling. It also furnished various appliances: cooking range, refrigerator, heater, sink, and it paid the salary of a construction supervisor. All this amounted to \$7,836 per house or approximately 81.2% of the total cost. The participants themselves ~~are~~ initially footed 18.8% of the cost in the form of labor which is valued at \$1,811 per unit. In addition, the participants make monthly payments, and the size and duration will be determined by specific income and family size. Hourly labor is credited at the rate of \$2.82 per hour.

During the first research visit to Metlakatla there was an opportunity to interview members of 9 of the 15 participating families. In all but two cases, the interviewer talked with the male participant who has been doing the actual work. He reports:

"The people I talked to seemed to be satisfied with, and even proud of the project. I do not believe that any of the participants I interviewed regret having taken part. The respondents were enthusiastic about the size of the houses, the quality of material used, and most stated that the new houses will be a great improvement over their present accommodations--I agree. Several of the participants volunteered that, without this program, they would have had ^osvant hope of attaining this quality of housing.

"This is not to say, though, that the participants did not offer criticism of the houses and the project. Some did not like the color. Others felt that another design would have been better. Still others would have liked to be given materials and allowed to construct their own houses individually. But no one was disenchanting with the project. Indeed, I was struck by a general feeling of enthusiasm."

There was no long-term resident investigator in Metlakatla as there was in Grayling, so there is no comparable collection of incidents to illustrate or substantiate the conclusions drawn. While additional material, resulting from a questionnaire study of Metlakatla beneficiaries is available elsewhere, conclusions which follow are based only on data reported above.

VI. Conclusions and Recommendations

In Metlakatla the total cost of the house, including labor, was accounted for in advance. In Grayling, on the other hand, only the value of the promised material was announced, and the participants were not given a cash-equivalent evaluation of their labor. The latter was a near fatal defect.

At the time it appeared that this approach conformed to the state of technological development (and awareness) of the village. Now that this initial project has ended, however, experience indicates that the ASHA plan--labelled at the outset as experimental and subject to revision--assumed too much political sophistication and too little economic sophistication.

For societies whose experience with a money economy is short and whose experience with authority is bitter, it is necessary to offer certain kinds of new experiences to correct the residual attitudes. Use of money in Grayling conforms better to the current state of development than does the notion of tribal solidarity which, in any case, did not apply. Grayling itself, may conform more to the pattern of rural Alaska than the unusually sophisticated village of Metlakatla.

The following eight major recommendations are made for the future low-income housing projects in Alaska, based on observations and discussions of the investigators.

1. There must be more prior investigation of needs and resources. The state must make use of persons trained in sociology and/or anthropology to supplement its bureaucrats in the communication with any persons for whom services are to be planned.

2. Time to work on houses must be found, separate from time required for subsistence activities. If the climate permits construction work only during time required for hunting, fishing, maintenance of equipment, etc., then an alternative to "sweat equity" must be found or a radical change in construction technology introduced. Factory pre-fabrication seems promising as a way to bring more work indoors.

3. Time to work on houses must be found separate from time which can be used for gainful employment. In other words, the time taken from wage labor must be valued as at least the going wage rate.

4. Structure of hours, supervision and sequence of operations must be specified in advance, as if participants were employees of a going enterprise. This will include public posting of records if there is any variation in hours worked. Record-keeping must be backed up by authority.

5. The entire project must be constructed in stages. As in any project where costs must be controlled through efficient organization, assembly-line methods are necessary to minimize wasted effort. An additional reason lies in the necessity to maintain the motivation of participants whose house otherwise may be finished before others' are.

6. There should be an available demand or market for a house whose prospective owner chooses to default on his obligation.

7. There must be local political participation. If the village council enters into an agreement with the State, then there is motivation to provide whatever "policing" may be necessary to keep up participation. Such a group contract offers many advantages, if properly guided by persons acceptable to the council. For example, the Council could receive a commission on the monthly payments collected, and would have the political power to decide priority of allocation. While subject to the same criticism as political activity in the big cities of the lower forty-eight, this system would also serve to educate the rural population of Alaska in the means to

achieve benefits comparable to those enjoyed by others. This means true education in the methods of democracy, a more serious step toward self-sufficiency than the paternalism of the past.

8. Men can be hired for wages to build homes as they are in the cities of our nation. The concept of "sweat equity", except where it is merely supplementary and volunteered, is inconsistent with the cash orientation of the mainstream of American economic life. Since the price set on a house is determined by the wage level, the amount of Federal subsidy in a given project can be controlled by adjusting the wage-price ratio. While the net cost result can be the same as in an ideal sweat-equity arrangement, the actual cost is mitigated both by the fact of increased efficiency (comparable to that reached on BIA school construction projects) and by the fact that there has been some education in modern industrial methods. A community with a marketable resource can even take care of its own needs by specializing: some persons would perform traditional tasks of harvesting, packing and marketing the resource for pay, while others, also for pay, would build houses for all. Federal subsidies, then, could be offered to the community for renewal on exactly the same basis as in predominately Caucasian communities elsewhere.

VII. Other Observations and Recapitulation of Major
Recommendations

In every society, no matter how simple, production and distribution entails the development of a division of labor: the assignment of specific defined tasks and delineated responsibilities to given persons or groups of persons. As technology becomes more complex, so does the division of labor. Yet, as in Samuel Colt's early firearms factory, the individual tasks themselves may become simplified. Examination of the available data appears to show that one contributing reason for the faster progress of and greater satisfaction with the Metlakatla housing project as compared with the Grayling project was simply that the former was better organized: i.e. individual tasks were more carefully defined and specialized; rewards were specifically tied to participation; authority for supervision was vested in a recognized, paid individual; and sequence of tasks was more rationally ordered. In line with this last item, it will be noted that construction in Metlakatla was scheduled so that it did not interfere with other necessary tasks such as the cannery work in season, while at Grayling, paid labor at the Mission and the BIA school went on simultaneously, drawing off the more skilled workers, and that the housing project continued through the necessary cycle of subsistence activities--salmon fishing and wood-cutting, with the result that the Grayling project took nearly three years to complete and was marked by dissension and dissatisfaction.

It is also worth reiterating that projects of this type provide an excellent opportunity both to train people in needed skills and to provide them the tools necessary to practice these skills in the period

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It is also worth reiterating that projects of this type provide an excellent opportunity both to train people in needed skills and to provide them the tools necessary to practice these skills in the period

following completion of the project. Shipping used tools (even chain saws) out of an isolated locality costs more than they are worth. Ammortizing basic tool costs for each project should prove more economic. Provision of basic tools to responsible participants should lead to more careful use, greater efficiency, and provide long-term advantages to the community involved.

Although beyond the limited scope of this report, it is further recommended that ASHA and other agencies continue to experiment with architectural forms that may be better suited to specific conditions in Alaska. Historically, many native groups lived in multi-family dwellings. Because of the communicability of upper respiratory infections and in order to instill an individualistic ethic, missions and other agencies, public and private, over the years successfully promoted the replacement of these units by single nuclear family dwellings. New developments in Chemotherapy have eliminated the first reason and the second has always been debatable. Economic provision of adequate water, sanitary facilities, workshops, and facilities for group and community activities may well depend upon development of multi-family and extended family housing even in geographically isolated localities.

Even the provision of single family housing might be approached more imaginatively. Most remote housing units are built upon pilings, both to provide an economical foundation and to limit settling due to permafrost thawing. It has been suggested by many, including the Arctic Health Research Center (Studies on Housing for Alaska Natives - PHS Oct. 1965) that the height of the pilings be increased to six feet. This would serve several purposes: 1. permit easy leveling of the main structure, 2. give a sheltered storage space equal in size to the main structure, 3. permit use of an under-house entryway which would end rapid temperature drop and fogging due to the opening of doorways in extreme cold weather, 4. provide space for

"honey-bucket" type of sanitary facility close to, but away from main living area.

Use of local materials where practical has been stressed in many of these projects. However, the use of local materials has tended to be limited to use of lumber and logs. Has adequate consideration of other Native materials been explored? One that immediately occurs to the writer is increased use of sod as an external insulator. How should the wooden wall be protected to prevent dampness and rotting? If sod is used on the roof, how should it be strengthened? Stone is available in certain areas. Can it be economically employed as a supplementary material? Walrus hides, birch bark, willow matting, etc were traditionally employed, where found, to screen summer dwellings. Can these be employed to screen off porches, sheds, and storage areas, in conjunction with the new types of houses.

Continued experimentation and research is needed, not only into the psychological, social, and organizational aspects of the remote housing problem, but into the very basic questions of design, so that we can evolve forms which are not only economical and practical in our harsh environment, but also are an esthetically pleasing expression of the social ethic of the people of Alaska.

It is on this note that this report closes. The inhabitants of rural Alaska may perhaps have fewer resources, physical and social, than some other citizens just now; if so, they require more assistance to qualify as having equal opportunity. It is necessary, however, as we provide this added assistance, that we accompany it with education in how to compete effectively for the opportunities provided by advanced technological societies. This implies that Mutual Help programs must operate in terms compatible with the dominant economic patterns of American society, and not in terms of a presumed pattern of tribal cooperation which, experience shows, are as obsolete in Grayling as they are in Anchorage or New York.

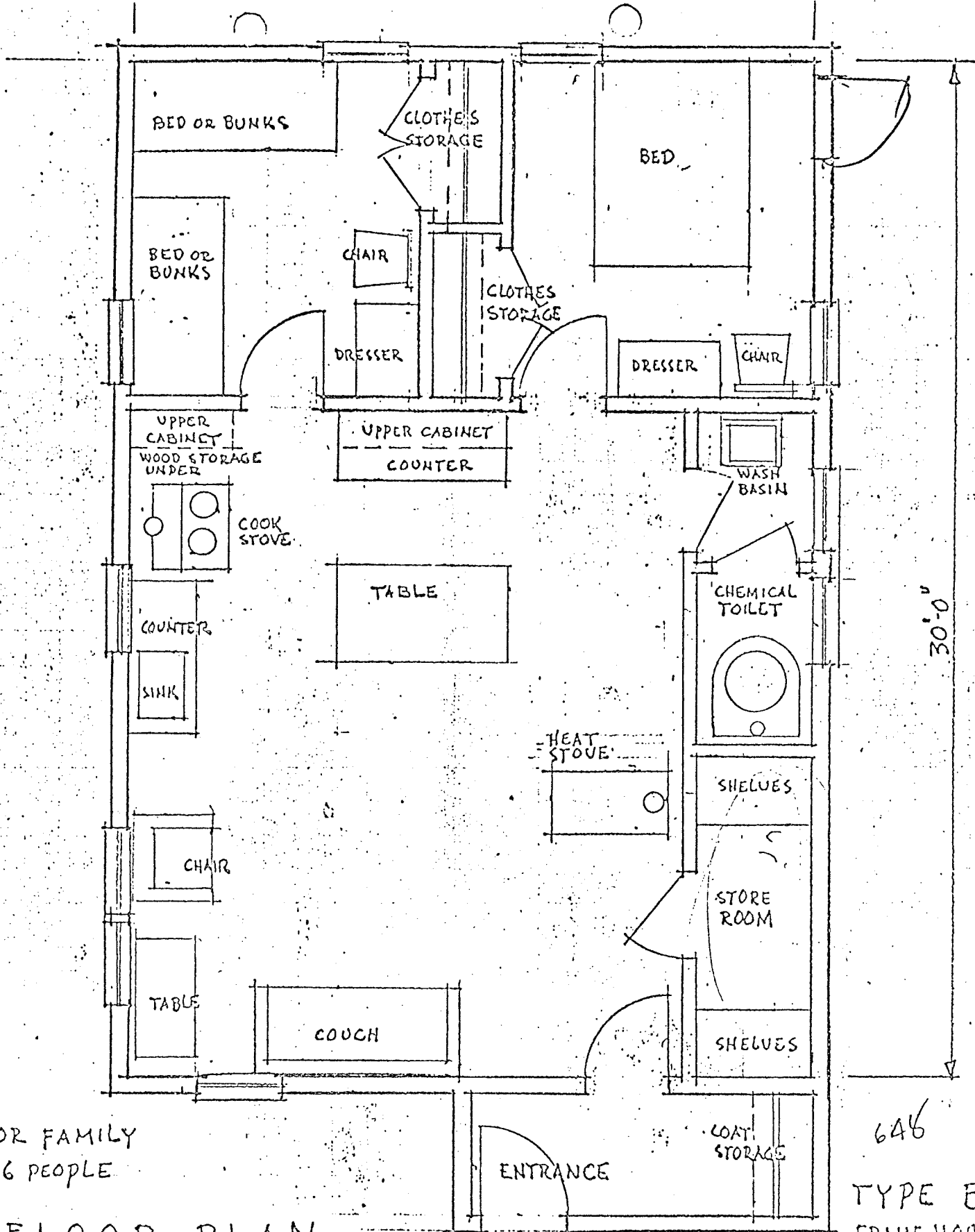
APPENDIX A

GRAYLING

House Design

Maps

Participant data



30'-0"

HOUSE FOR FAMILY
OF 4 TO 6 PEOPLE

FLOOR PLAN
1/4" = 1'-0"

646

TYPE B
FRAME HOUS

EDWIN CRITTENDEN
ARCHITECTS & ASSOCIATES

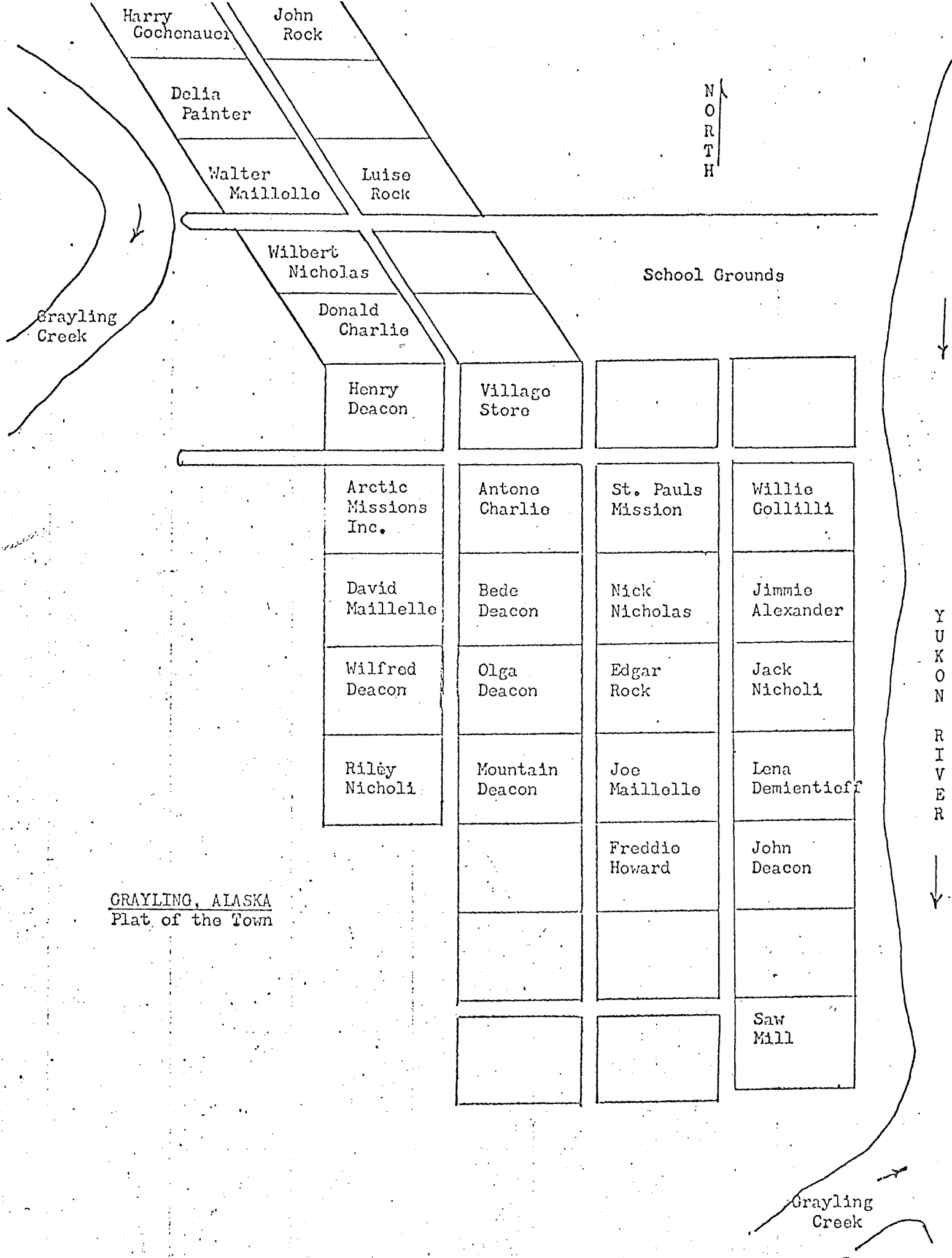
NATIVE HOUSING FOR
GRAYLING

JOB NO. 6309
DATE 7/2/63

835 9TH AVENUE, ANCHORAGE, ALASKA

SHEET 2 OF 5

\$ 1300.00



GRAYLING, ALASKA
Plat of the Town

N
O
R
T
H

School Grounds

Grayling
Creek

Y
U
K
O
N
R
I
V
E
R

Grayling
Creek

Harry
Gochenauch

John
Rock

Delia
Painter

Walter
Maillollo

Luise
Rock

Wilbert
Nicholas

Donald
Charlie

Henry
Deacon

Village
Store

Arctic
Missions
Inc.

Antone
Charlie

St. Pauls
Mission

Willie
Gollilli

David
Maillelle

Bede
Deacon

Nick
Nicholas

Jimmie
Alexander

Wilfred
Deacon

Olga
Deacon

Edgar
Rock

Jack
Nicholi

Rilay
Nicholi

Mountain
Deacon

Joe
Maillelle

Lena
Demientieff

Freddie
Howard

John
Deacon

Saw
Mill

NAME	AGE	APPROXIMATE INCOME	FAMILY COMPOSITION		PRESENT HOUSING	SOURCE OF INCOME	CONSTRUCTION SKILLS	HE HEALTH
			ADULTS	-CHILDREN				
Mountain Deacon	33	\$1800	2	5	None	Construction Unemployment	Fainter	Excell.
Willie Golilie	38	\$1900	2	1	None	Cannery Unemployment	None	Excell.
Riley Nichole	35	\$ 500	2	8	None	Trapping Welfare	Some Carp.	Excell.
Frederick Howard	30	\$ 800	1	0	None	Laborer Trapping	Some Carp.	Excell.
Wilbert Nicholas	26	\$ 800	2	2	None	Trapping Laborer	Welder Plumber	Excell.
Harry Gochenauer	23	\$3000	2	4	None	Trapping Fishing	Some Carp.	Excell.
*John Deacon	70	\$1500	2	3	None	Social Security Security	Sawmill Sawmill	Poor Poor/Poor
Jimmy Alexander	57	\$ 300	2	2	None	Trapping	None	Good
Bide Deacon	40	\$1200	2	7	None	Welfare Trapping	None	Excell.
Edgar Rock	43	\$2500	2	7	None	Cannery Unemployment	None	Excell.
Delia Painter	34	\$3000	1	7	None	Welfare Social Security	None	Good
David Maillelle	55	\$1000	2	2	None	Trapping Fishing	Mechanic	Good

* Will donate use of his sawmill. Too old to work.

NAME	AGE	APPROXIMATE INCOME	FAMILY COMPOSITION		PRESENT HOUSING	SOURCE OF INCOME	CONSTRUCTION SKILLS	HEALTH
			ADULTS	-CHILDREN				
Donald Charlie	20	\$ 200	1	0	None	Trapping	Some Carp.	Excell.
Olga Deacon	72	\$2000	1	3	None	Welfare	None	Good
Jack Nicholi	67	\$1500	2	2	None	Social Security Welfare	None	Poor
Lena Demientieff	36	\$1700	1	4	None	Welfare	None	Good
Nick Nicholas	75	\$1400	2	1	None	Welfare Social Security	None	Fair
Joseph Maillelle	21	\$ 350	1	0	None	Trapping	Some Carp.	Excell.
Antone Charlie	48	\$2600	2	1	None	Cannery Unemployment	Some Carp.	Good
Wilfred Deacon	31	\$3300	1	0	None	Railroad	None	Excell.
*Henry Deacon	34	\$5800	2	10	None	Cannery Native Store	Sawmill	Excell.
Walter Maillelle	32	\$2000	2	4	None	Cannery Unemployment	Sawmill	Excell.

* Will donate use of his sawmill. Very good worker and leader.

FAMILIES BY HOUSEHOLDS...AUGUST 1964 (People in Grayling of this date)

<u>Parents. or heads of Households)</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Month/year of Birth</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	<u>Month/Year of Birth</u>	<u>Total Children</u>
Jim Alexander Margaret King	1907 1901	Joe Haillette Oscar King Jerry King	July 1941 Nov. 1947 Dec. 1951			3
Antone Charlie Lucie Charlie	1910 1912	Donald Charlie Daniel Joe	Oct. 1943 May 1947			
Bede Deacon Jobia Deacon	1921 1932	Alvin Maillette Marvin Deacon Archie Deacon Venal Deacon Leonard Deacon	Oct. 1951 May 1954 May 1956 Apr. 1960 Jun. 1961	Ester Deacon Eleanor Deacon Lillian Deacon	May 1957 Aug. 1955 Jan. 1964	2 8
Henry Deacon Delly Deacon	1928 1928	Rodney Deacon Steven Deacon Nelson Deacon	Feb. 1953 Jun. 1957 Dec. 1963	Shirley Deacon Edith Deacon Mary Deacon Eleanor Deacon Deborah Deacon Vivian Deacon Rebecca Deacon Caroline Deacon	Apr. 1946 Aug. 1948 Jan. 1952 Dec. 1954 Feb. 1956 July 1959 Sept. 1960 Nov. 1961	11
John Deacon Belle Deacon	1891 1904	John Raymond Deacon Hermann Deacon	Apr. 1944 Nov. 1948	Josephine Deacon	June 1946	3
Olga Deacon	1897	Harold Markson Tommy Maillette	May 1951 Dec. 1950	Ina Markson	May 1948	3

Families by Households August 1964 continued...

<u>Parents (or heads of Households)</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Month/Year of Birth</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	<u>Month/Year of Birth</u>	<u>Total Children</u>
Mountain Deacon Thelma Deacon	1929 1939	Robert Deacon Sammy Deacon Edward Deacon Antone Deacon	Sept 1957 Jan. 1959 Oct. 1960 Feb. 1963	Lucie Deacon Dora Deacon	Dec. 1954 Feb. 1962	6
Wilfred Deacon Evelyn Deacon	1931 1939			Rosalie Deacon Sharon Deacon	Oct. 1958 June 1963	2
Lena Dimientieff	1926			Winnifred Dimientieff Charlotte Dimientieff Mady Beth Dimientieff Agnes Dimientieff	July 1954 Mar. 1957 July 1959 Dec. 1962	4
Harry Gochenauer Della Gochenauer	1931 1940	Johnny Gochenauer Bobby Gochenauer	Aug. 1962 Mar. 1964	Sandra Gochenauer Patricia Gochenauer Connie Gochenauer	July 1959 May 1960 July 1961	5
Willie Gollillie Rose Gollillie	1927 1932	Willie Jr.	Jan. 1955	Lucy Gollillie	Oct. 1963	2
Freddy Howard Angela Howard	1939 1946					
David Maillelle Hanna Maillelle	1907 1922	Harry Maillelle	Feb. 1946	Kate Maillelle Elsie Maillelle	Jan. 1944 Aug. 1948	3
Walter Maillelle Virginia Maillelle	1930 1932	Irving Robert Howard Walter Hubert	Mar. 1952 Nov. 1960	Zena Maillelle Ethel Doris Maillelle Katey Eileen Maillelle	Dec. 1957 Sept. 1962 Jan. 1964	5
Nick Nicholas Elma Nicholas	1894 1901					

Families by Households August 1964 continued...

<u>Parents (or heads of Households)</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Month/Year of Birth</u>	<u>Daughters</u>	<u>Month/Year of Birth</u>	<u>Total Children</u>
Wilbert Nicholas	1937	Gary Nicholas	Feb. 1960	Peggy Nicholas	Aug. 1962	4
Harriet Nicholas	1939	Wilbert Nicholas, Jr.	Nov. 1963			
Jade Nicholi	1896	Philip Nicholi	Dec. 1946			2
Winnifred Nicholi	1905	Willie Nicholi	June 1949			
Riley Nicholi	1928	Gabriel Nicholi	May 1942	Mabel Nicholi	Nov. 1955	9
Rose Nicholi	1932	Richard Nicholi	Sept 1954	Marilyn Nicholi	Jan. 1957	
				Ruthie Nicholi	Oct. 1958	
				Linda Nicholi	Jan. 1960	
				Laura Nicholi	June 1961	
				Virginia Nicholi	June 1962	
Delia Painter	1927	Matthew Painter	Nov. 1948	Margie Painter	Mar. 1950	7
		William Painter	Feb. 1952	Martha Painter	Dec. 1956	
		Roy Painter	Jan. 1954	Sharon Painter	Nov. 1962	
		Dean Painter	Sept 1959			
Edgar Whitey Rock	1919	Peter Rock	Jan. 1946	Sophie Rock	July 1956	9
Bertha Rock	1923	Morris Rock	Oct. 1949	Jenny Rock	Jan. 1958	
		Larry Rock	Feb. 1959	Lorraine Rock	June 1960	
		Arnold Rock	Apr. 1962	Alice Rock	June 1944	
				Beverly (Child of Alice)	Apr. 1964	
John Rock	1924					1
Louise Rock	1914			Marion Roch	Apr. 1947	

T O T A L S

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Total Population.....			127
Total Male Population.....	31	38	69
Total Female Population...	29	29	58
			<u>127</u>

Population under 15 years
Population over 15 years

A P P E N D I X B

METLAKATLA

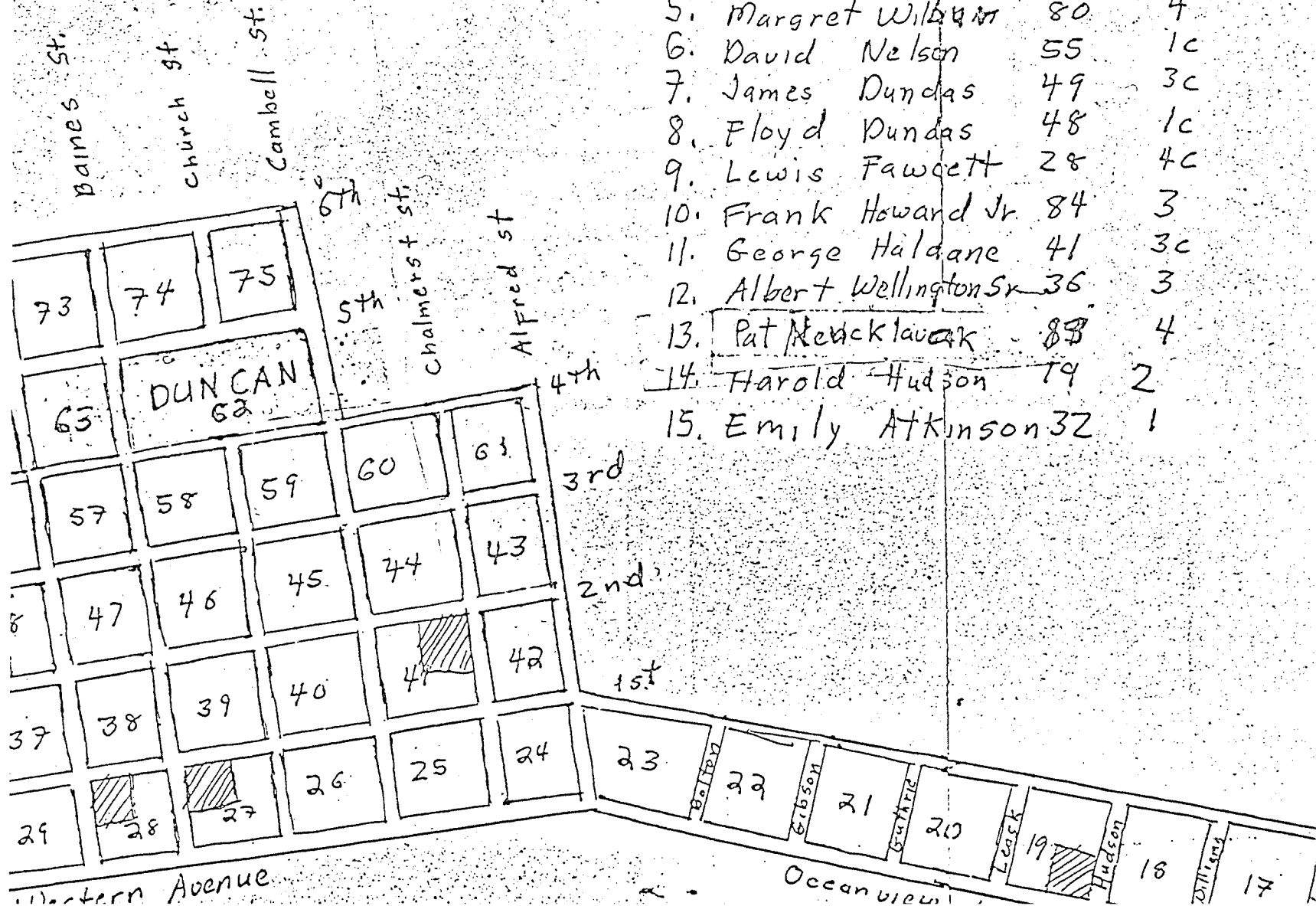
Map

Participant Questionnaire

Memoranda

Analysis of Questionnaire

KATLA MUTUAL-HELP HOUSING PROJECT



	<u>name</u>	<u>block</u>	<u>lot</u>
1.	Marvin Hudson	84	2c
2.	Roland Booth	27	4
3.	Victor Starish	89	2c
4.	Thomas Brendible Sr	76	3c
5.	Margret Wilbur	80	4
6.	David Nelson	55	1c
7.	James Dundas	49	3c
8.	Floyd Dundas	48	1c
9.	Lewis Fawcett	28	4c
10.	Frank Howard Jr	84	3
11.	George Haldane	41	3c
12.	Albert Wellington Sr	36	3
13.	Pat Metcklavak	88	4
14.	Harold Hudson	79	2
15.	Emily Atkinson	32	1

Mutual-help Housing Project
Metlakatla Questionnaire

Name of participant interviewed _____

A. Personal data (We already have personal data on V. Starrish, T. Brendible, M. Wilbur, J. Dundas, F. Dundas, L. Fawcett, E. AtkiAtkinson, A. Wellington, and G. Haldane. So only the others should be asked the following):

Occupation _____ No. months employed _____

N

Number of dependents _____ Owner, size, state of repair of present

living accommodations _____

B. The Houses Themselves

1. What do you now think of the houses you have been building?

a. Are they of good construction? Give an example, specifically, of a good feature.

b. Will they suit your needs? In what way will it miss? Be specific.

c. What, if anything, about the houses should be changed or improved?

d. Tell how life will be better if the house is changed. Distinguish a change recommended for this house from an improvement recommended for future projects.

2. How do other members of the project feel about the houses? Again - itemize. Be specific.

3. What, if anything, have people who are not members said about the houses? Direct quotes are extremely valuable here.

C. Payment

1. If you did not already answer this question when Tom Walker was here in July could you tell me what you will be paying for the house?

Mutual-help Housing Project
Metlakatla Questionnaire

2. How long do you make payments?
3. What do you think of this arrangement?
4. Is it fair? Is it fair to everyone in the project? How is it unfair, specifically?

D. The Participants' Committee

1. I am told that in addition to the Town's Metlakatla Housing Authority there is also a Participants' Committee of which all 15 participants are members and Harold Hudson is president. Could you tell me about this? Tell an actual anecdote.
2. How many times, if at all, has the committee gotten together since work on the house began after the cannery season was over this year? When is the next meeting scheduled?
3. What problems have been discussed in the meetings? Be exact.
4. How have they been solved? Tell an anecdote - a "critical incident" or observation.
5. Do you think it is worth while for the Committee to hold meetings? Or, is it enough if the participants discuss and solve their problems on the job?

E. The System

1. Do you think it is a good idea for everyone to work together on each house from start to finish as you did here in Metlakatla? Explain.
2. In a similar mutual-help housing program in Grayling, Alaska on the Yukon River, a group of 21 families framed in their houses together, then each person worked on his own house, finishing it out by himself once it was "in the dry." What do you think of this?
3. Any other system you'd like to suggest?

Mutual-help Housing Project
Metlakatla Questionnaire

F. Possible ways of improving the organization of such projects

1. How, if at all, could any of the following have made the project go faster and more smoothly? Once more, a specific incident to illustrate the point being made.

a. The Bureau of Indian Affairs' Central Office in Juneau?

The Bureau of Indian Affairs' Construction Supervisor?

b. The Metlakatla Housing Authority?

c. You the 15 participants?

2. Would you have any final suggestions that might be helpful for future Mutual-help Housing projects in the State of Alaska?

Why do you make this suggestion? What went wrong with your project that makes you want to suggest changes? Tell how your change will be better.

M E M O R A N D U M

17 November 1965

TO: Research and Advance Study

FROM: John J. Teal, Jr., Professor of
Animal Husbandry and Human Ecology

SUBJECT: Report upon Investigations into Response of Participants in the
Village of Metlakatla Mutual-help Housing Project

On Monday, November 8, 1965 the undersigned traveled to Anchorage and on the following day to Annette Island in order to carry out certain investigations into the response of members of the Participants' Group of the Metlakatla Mutual-help Housing Project. In order to fulfill the requirement of this investigation it was necessary to interview 14 persons plus 11 wives individually and to have them respond to questions provided on a questionnaire blank from Professor Berkun, the original investigator. The first step taken by this investigator was to contact the Mayor of the village, Mr. Littlefield, to describe the project to him, and to solicit his cooperation. Such cooperation was offered in a most friendly and fulsome manner, and, indeed, Mr. Littlefield undertook to drive this investigator around the town, to show him the various houses under construction, and to introduce him to the pertinent people involved. Since all of the members of the Participants' Committee were engaged in actual construction work, it was necessary to visit each of the 15 houses and to request the men as individuals to leave the group for periods ranging from one half to one full hour for a private interview. Every participant was interviewed, and all of the living wives, numbering 11. In every instance the participants answered the questions in a friendly and enthusiastic manner, and as well offered considerable other information about the village and its general problems. Many of the people being interviewed in turn interviewed this investigator concerning his own work about which they seemed to be fairly well informed.

The 25 questionnaires which are the results of these interviews are appended to this memorandum.

During the course of the investigations it was possible to have a lengthy conversation with Mr. Littlefield regarding the Mutual-help Project. During this conversation Mr. Littlefield emphasized several points which may be of significance to the original investigator. For example, he stated that the Tsimshian Indians who live in Metlakatla characteristically give full support to a leader or community project once a decision has been reached. He emphasized that the reaching of decisions was often a labored process and involved a great deal of argument. However, even those who opposed an elected leader or a

project prior to a decision, accept that decision once it has been made, and cooperate fully without dissident factions. This, he stated, makes them easy to lead as Mayor and also explains their successful and willing performance under the Project conditions.

Mr. Littlefield emphasized that it had been necessary to hold a number of conferences with the participants in the Mutual-help Housing Project to explain various items to them. In particular, he pointed out that the initial meetings encountered considerable scepticism. Since at those original meetings there were several persons who could not be convinced, the committee merely dropped them from the roll of participants. Consequently those who were left were in general those who would perform.

Mr. Littlefield, himself, is a Tlingit Indian from Sitka who married a Tsimshian woman from Metlakatla some 30 years ago and has remained there ever since. He cited this to me as an evidence that once the Tsimshian Indians agree upon something they tend to back it wholeheartedly; in this instance, they long ago agreed in their constitution that they would welcome as a member of their group anyone who would subscribe to their articles of confederation. He was such a person.

It is worth pointing out that the people interviewed in general were highly articulate, and used such phrases as "We are a gregarious bunch." That there had been considerable conversation amongst the people participating is evident from the answers on the questionnaires, since many of them are similar in comments. Mr. Littlefield's characterization of Tsimshian support for a project was most noticeable when various persons would state that they had not themselves originally approved these plans, but since they had been chosen by the group they were "fine".

While this investigator was interviewing the people involved, Mr. Arnol Echols undertook to photograph each of the 15 houses. When the task was completed, the Mayor of Metlakatla gave several souvenirs and presents from the village to the investigators.

JJT:cl

Description of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was administered to 25 adults in the 15 households participating in the housing construction project in Metlakatla. At the time the interviews were taken, the houses were nearing completion. The questionnaire is divided into six sections as follows:

Section A--Personal Data asks for information on occupation, employment, size of family, and type of housing.

Section B--The Houses Themselves asks for opinions on the houses being built; for suggestions on possible improvements.

Section C--Payment asks for factual information on the amount and payment terms of the purchase agreements and for opinions on the fairness of the arrangement.

Section D--The Participants' Committee asks for opinions on the organizational structure of the project and information on its functions.

Section F--The System asks for opinions and suggestions on the operation, with comparison especially to Grayling.

Section G--Possible Ways of Improving the Organization of Such Projects asks for suggestions and criticism of the supporting agents' and agencies' performances.

Summary of Response to
the Metlakatla Questionnaire

Occupation

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Employment, Mo./Yr.</u>
Housewife	11	44	n. a.
Laborer	7	28	6 1/4
Fisherman	3	12	4
Carpenter	3	12	3 1/2
Logger	1	4	6 1/2
<u>Totals</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>4 1/2</u>

Family Size

<u>Household Size</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
8-11	3	20
5- 6	4	27
4	4	27
2- 3	<u>4</u>	<u>26</u>
<u>Totals</u>	15	100%

Present Accomodations

	<u>Number</u>
Live with Relatives	9
Six rooms in poor condition	2
Four rooms in poor condition	2
Three rooms in poor condition	1
Two rooms in poor condition	<u>1</u>
	15

Summary continued...

Unanimous approval of the new houses and Special features liked:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Insulation	18	72
Wall Heat	2	8
W Warmth	3	12
Roomy	<u>2</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>Totals</u>	25	100

All but one felt that the new house would suit their needs.
Possible improvements suggested:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Enclosure of Porch	14	74
Choice of Floor Plans and Colors	2	11
More Space	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>
<u>Totals</u>	19	100%

All but one felt that the other members of the project were satisfied.
Response by non-member in the community:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Liked the Houses	10	40
Would Join Next Project	<u>15</u>	<u>60</u>
<u>Totals</u>	25	100%

Expected Payment on the House:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Do not know	18	72
10,000--12,000	4	16
7,500--10,000	<u>3</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Totals</u>	25	100%

Summary continued...

Expected years to fulfill payment:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Do not know	20	80
10--20	<u>5</u>	<u>20</u>
<u>Totals</u>	25	100%

All but one who was hesitant and two who had no opinion approved of the arrangement for payment. All 25 felt the arrangement was fair.

Seventeen were satisfied with the type of committee organization, but six felt that the women should have been included in the committee.

Number of meetings held:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
One	11	44
Two	5	20
Three	1	4
Do not know	<u>8</u>	<u>32</u>
<u>Totals</u>	25	100%

Types of problems that arose:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Work Scheduling	9	36
Some Poor Participation	7	28
No Problems	2	8
Do not know	<u>7</u>	<u>28</u>
<u>Totals</u>	25	100%

Summary continued...

Method of Solving Problems:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Handled by Chairman	10	40
Voted	4	16
Group Discipline	4	16
No Problems	3	12
Do not know	<u>4</u>	<u>16</u>
<u>Totals</u>	25	100%

All but three, who had no opinion, felt that the meetings were worth while. All favored the group working together.

All felt that their system was preferable to the Grayling project in which each household did their own finishing work.

There was only one suggestion for improving the organization. That was to divide the men into specialized skill groups.

Criticism of the BIA Construction Supervisor:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Poor Instruction	1	4
Inactive	1	4
Poor tools	1	4
No faults	19	76
Do not know	<u>3</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Totals</u>	25	100%

Summary continued...

Criticism of the Juneau Office of the BIA:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Inadequate Planning	3	12
Provided no Electricians	1	4
No Faults	15	60
Do not know	<u>6</u>	<u>24</u>
<u>Totals</u>	25	100%

Criticism of Metlakatla Housing Authority:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Poor Supervision	2	8
Knew too little	1	4
No Faults	17	68
Do not know	<u>3</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Totals</u>	25	100%

Criticism of Participants:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Too many Laggards	6	24
Should work evenings	1	4
Should meet more often	1	4
No faults	15	60
Do not know	<u>2</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>Totals</u>	25	100%

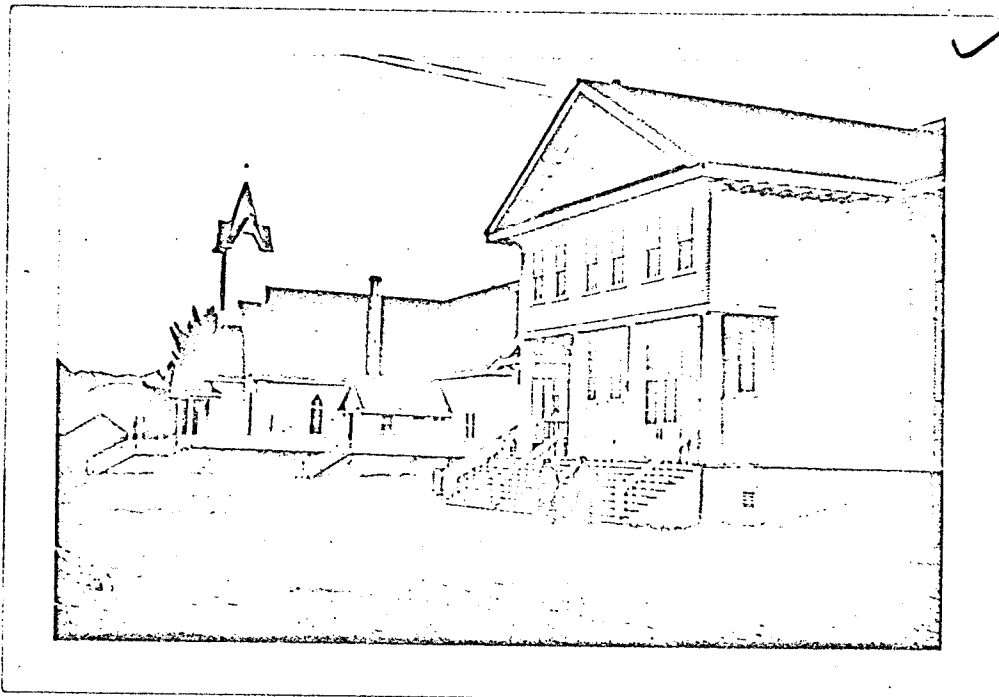
Summary continued...

Suggestions:

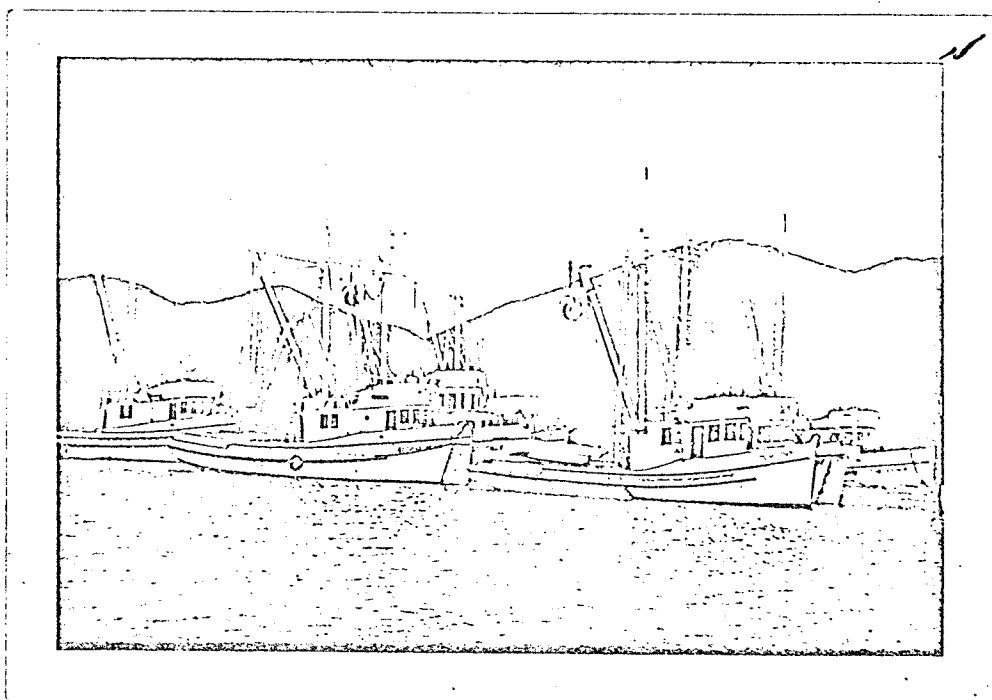
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Non-inclusion of Women in Meetings	12	48
Should include furniture	3	12
Receive Allowance for Living	1	4
More Technical Assistance	1	4
Warehouse for Storage	1	4
Better Information	<u>5</u>	<u>20</u>
<u>Totals</u>	25	100%

Comments on Metlakatla Questionnaire and Responses

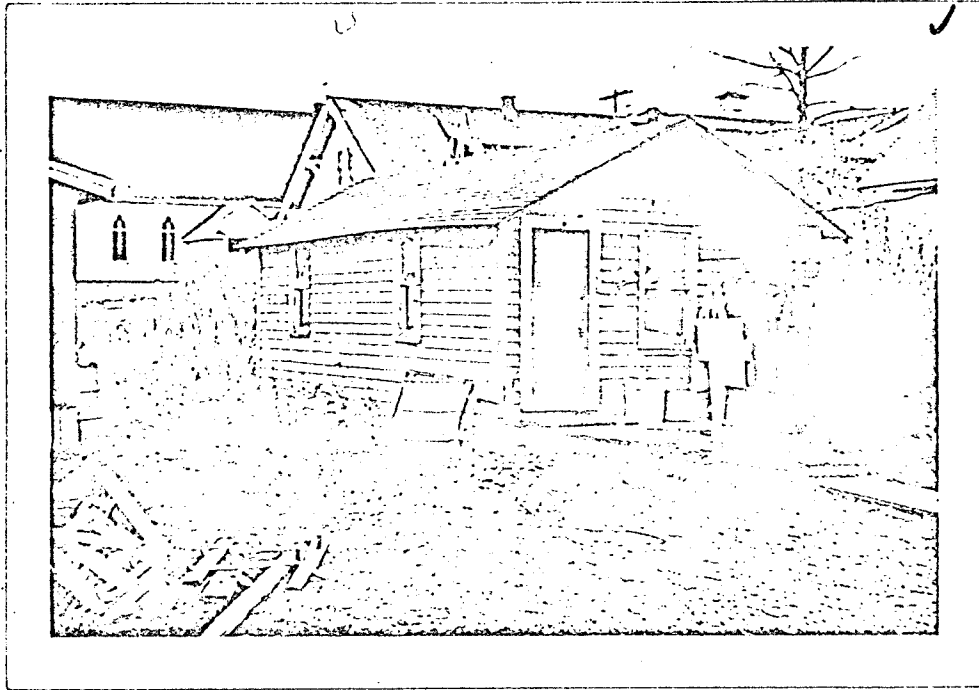
- (1) Only one person per household should have been polled.
- (2) Responses to questions on "payment" indicate that participants were not adequately informed as to the amount of monthly payments or the length of the contract prior to the initiation of the project. It appears that the respondents' knowledge of the financial aspects is very general and perhaps vague.
- (3) The respondents were contradictory in their answers to the factual question of the number of meetings held. However, in questions about opinions held, they were unusually uniform in this response. Perhaps, this indicates that knowledge of meetings was not well publicized prior to being held, i.e., not everyone knew of them. On the other hand, these meetings may have been very informal discussions which some respondents considered to be meetings and others did not. In the main, the contradiction could not be explained by discounting the women's answers.
- (4) Questions 1-C and 1-D overlap to a great extent. As a result, the respondents' answers were quite redundant.
- (5) Generally speaking, the questionnaire appears to be poorly constructed. We suggest that it be revised in order to be more specific and less redundant.



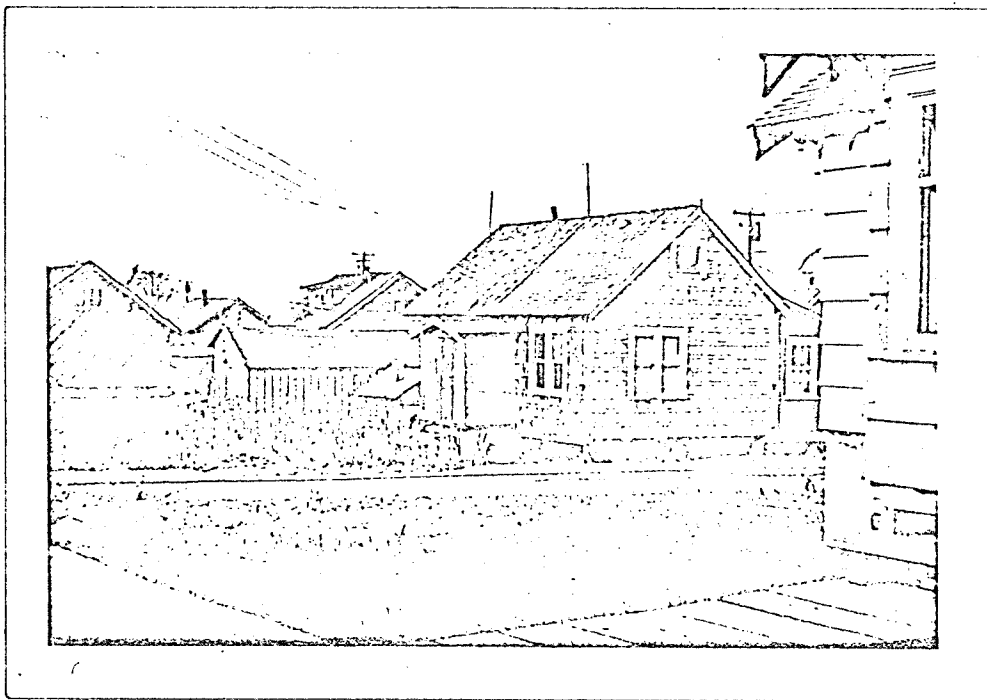
City Hall in Metlakatla



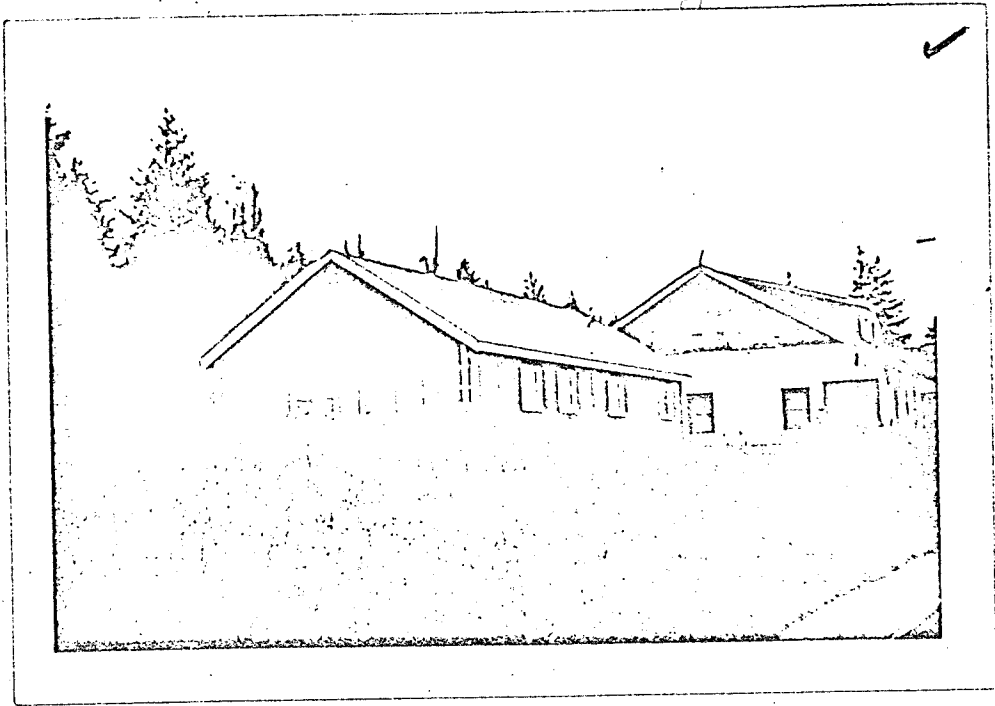
Fishing fleet in Metlakatla



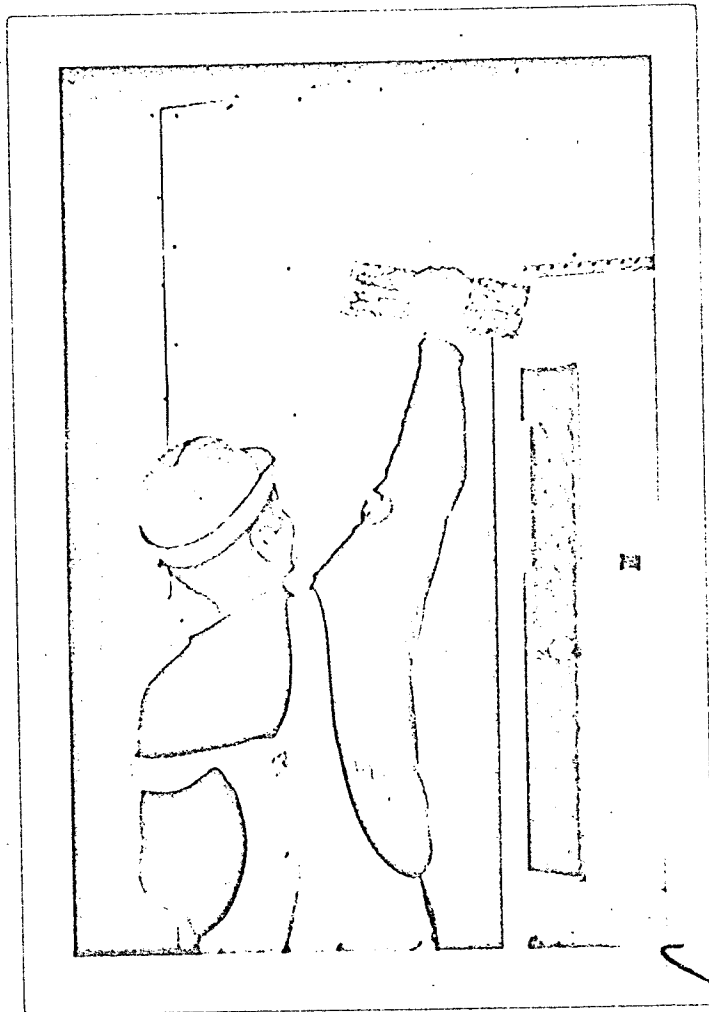
Typical native shanty



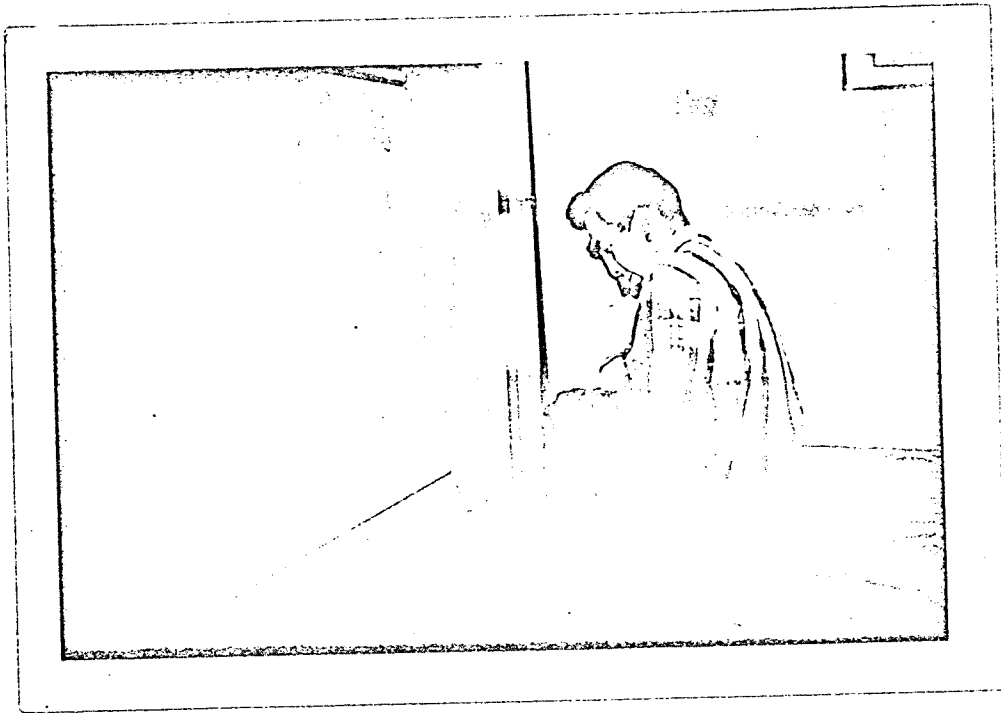
An older and unsatisfactory house



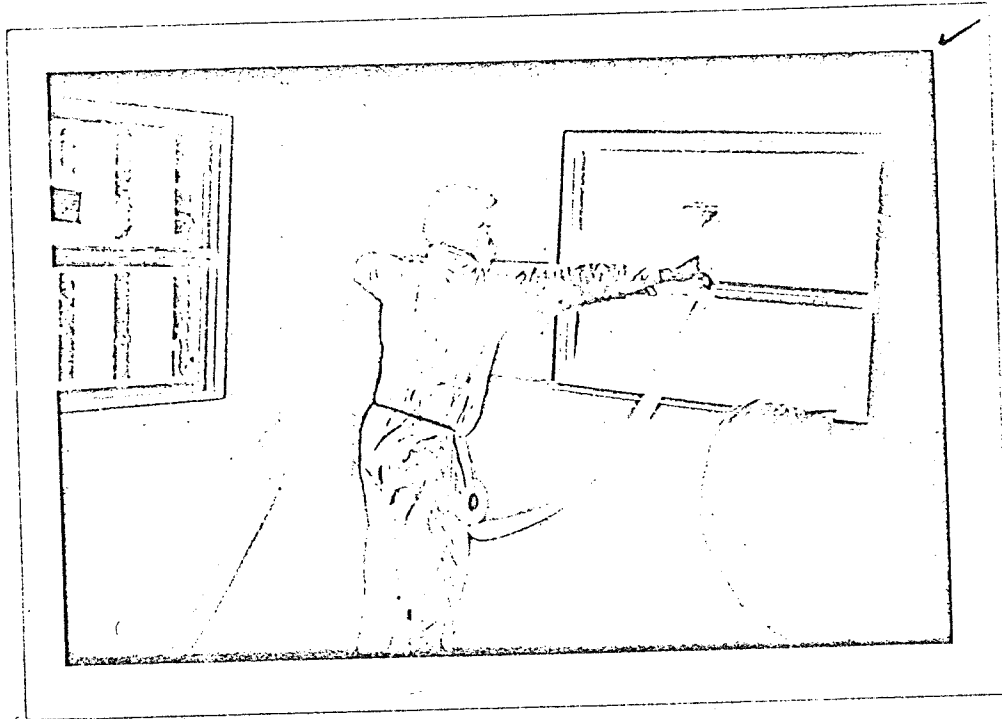
A Project House in the foreground



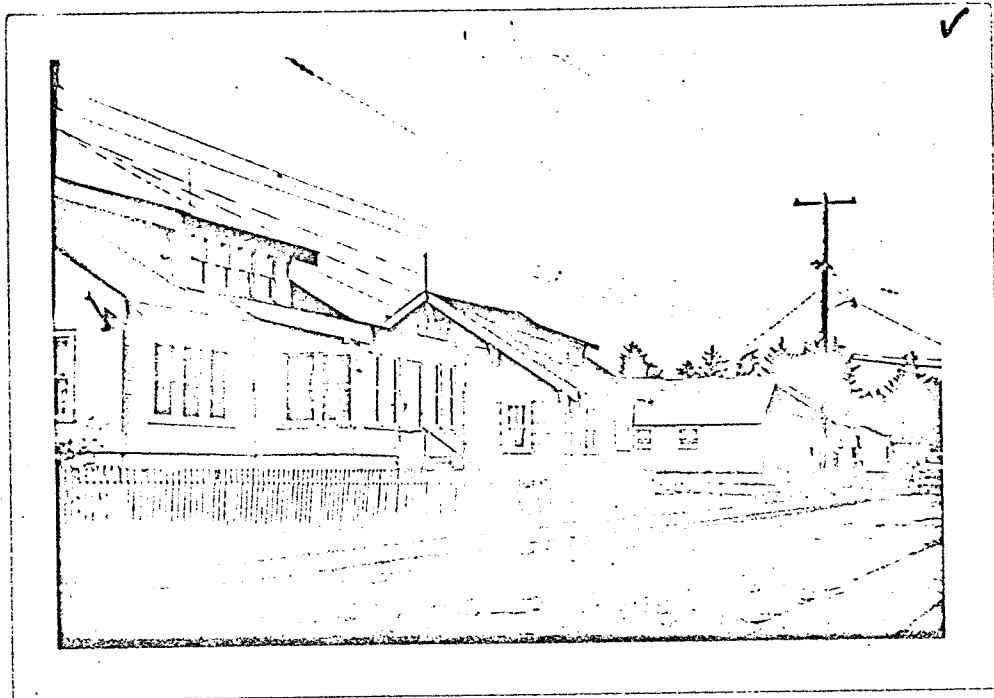
A native plastering in one of the Project Houses



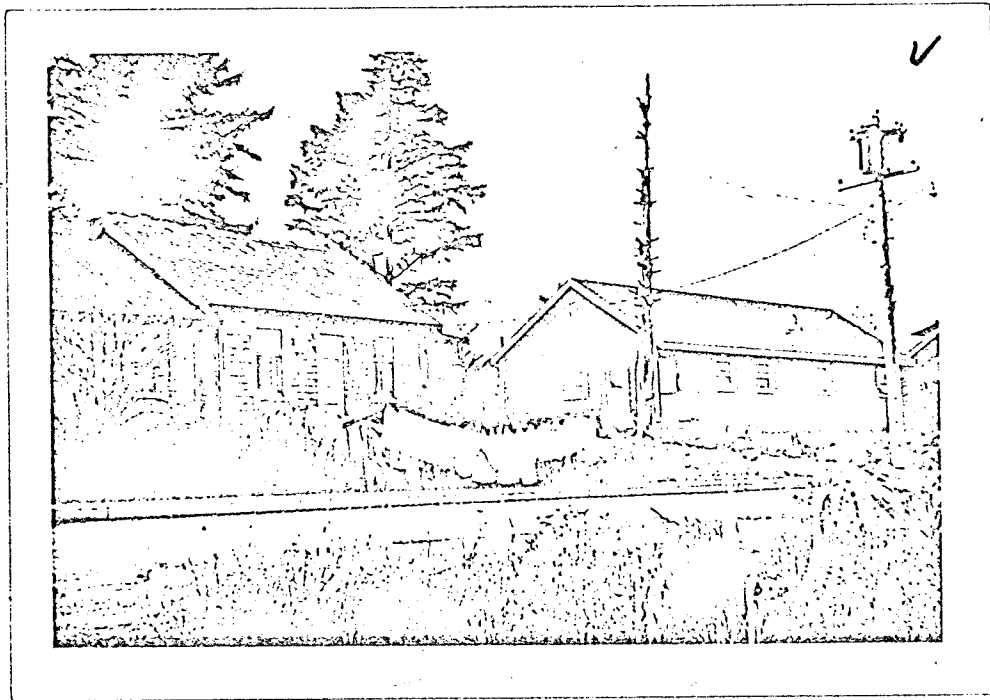
Native working on wiring in Project House



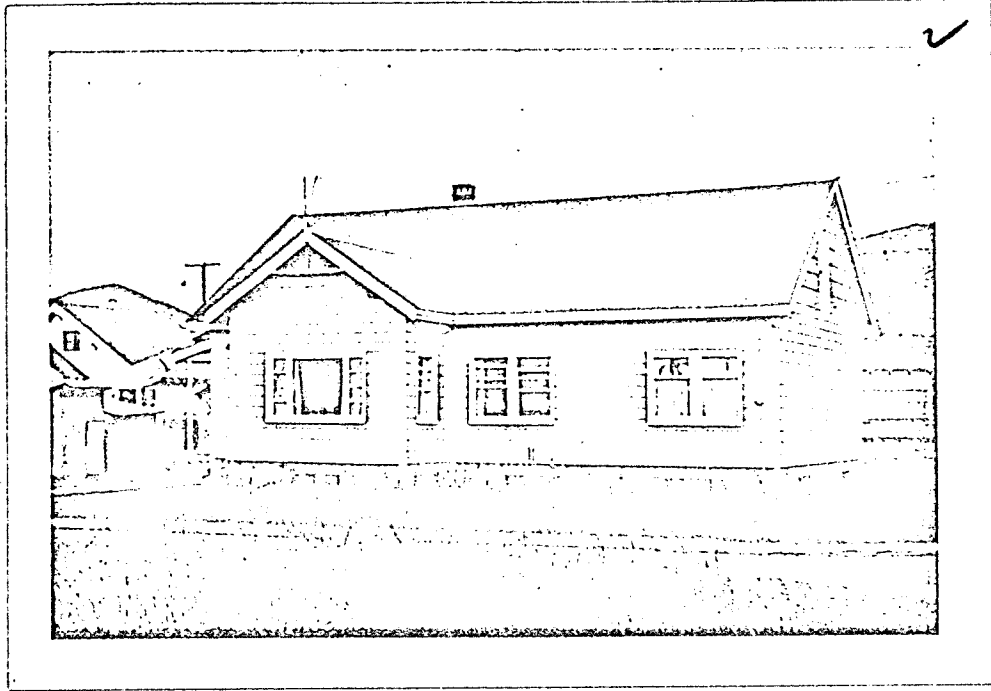
Native taping in one of Project Houses



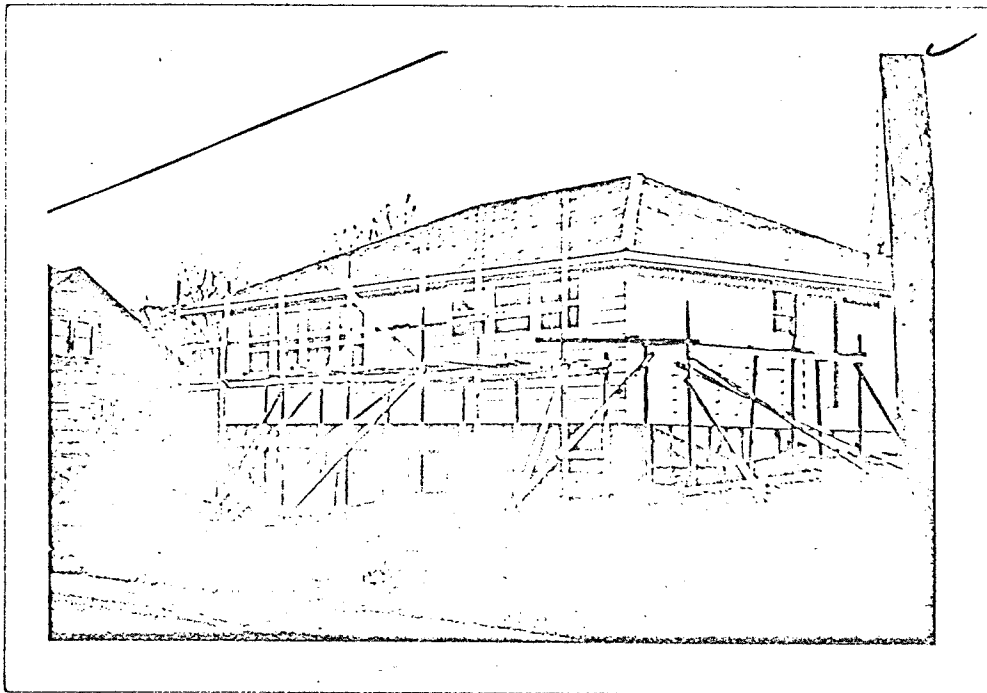
The house by the telephone pole is a Project House



One of the Project Houses (on the right)



One of the few new conventional homes (non-project)



Another non-project conventional home

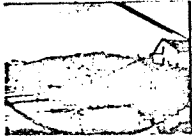
METLAKATLA



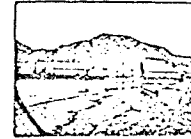
Metlakatla fisherman



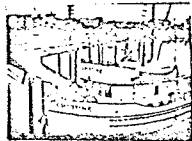
Fish for shipment from cannery



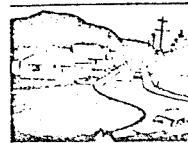
Metlakatla dock



Metlakatla cannery



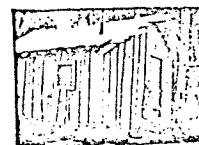
Metlakatla fishing boat



Street in Residential Metlakatla



Trapping Cabin

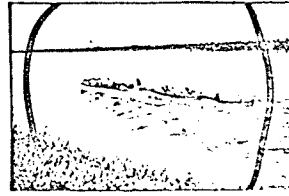


Typical native hut

On the Yukon



Barge unloads fuel oil for school

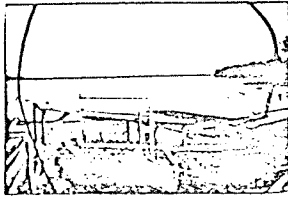


Moving dogs and household goods on Yukon

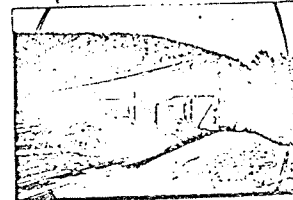


Returning from the Yukon

Lumbering



Sawmill and Log pond on Yukon River

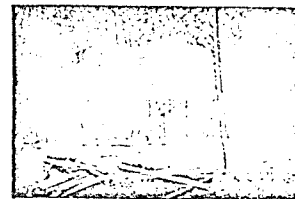
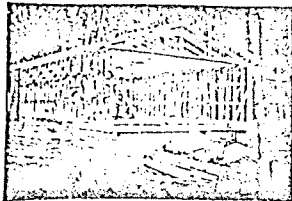
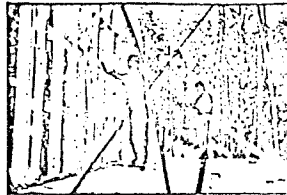
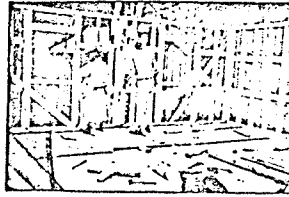
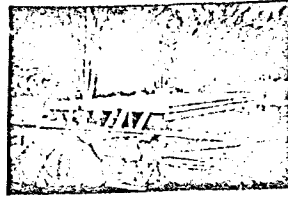


Sawmill Yard

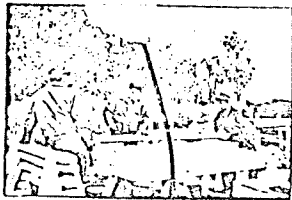
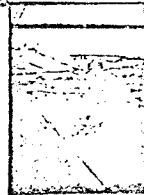
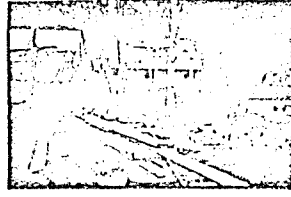
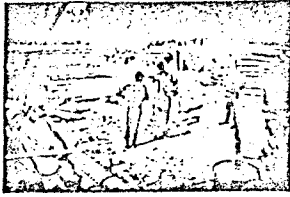


Making a log raft

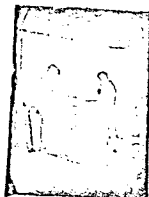
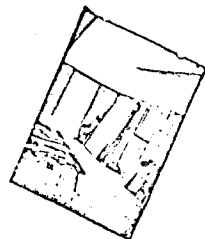
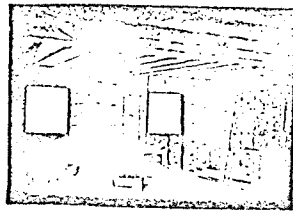
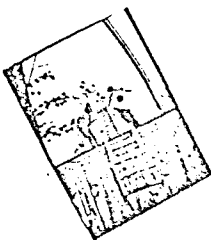
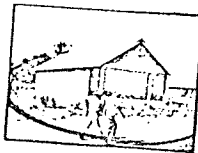
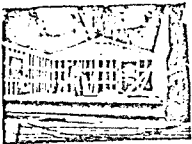
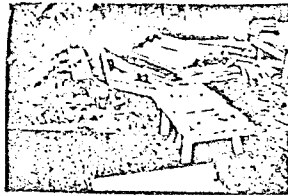
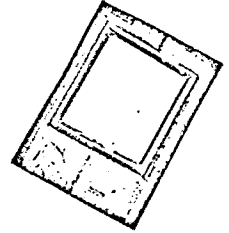
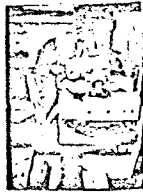
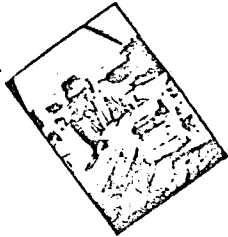
Project Houses on the Rise



The Village People Work on Project



Further Look Into Project Homes



COMPLETED PROJECT HOMES OR THOSE NEAR COMPLETION

